DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 198 557 CS 206 138

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TITLE Changing Words in a Changing World.
INSTITUTION Arizona State Univ., Tempe. Dept. of Educational Technology and Library Science.
SPONS AGENCY Women's Educational Equity Act Program (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 80
NOTE 74p.: For related document see CS 206 137.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Course Content: Course Descriptions: *English Instruction: Higher Education: High Schools: *Language Usage: Learning Activities: Linguistics: Reading Materials: *Sex Bias: *Sociolinguistics

ABSTRACT

The course materials provided in this booklet are interded to create an awareness of the pervasiveness of sexism in American culture as reflected in the language. Information on the topic: assignments for field work, analysis, and discussion: and topics for compositions are given in four sections, each based on a separate linguistic principle. The first section, based on the principle that a language reflects the culture and values of its speakers, includes discussions of names of people, place names, language customs and weddings, and marriage and people's names. The second section, based on the principle that language forms reflect the viewpoint of the majority or the powerful groups in society, includes discussions of language in relation to aging, the pronoun problem, and the problem with the word "man." The third section is based on the principle that exaggeration is an integral part of the communication process and discusses metaphors and symbolization, presuppositions about females and males, and exaggeration for commercial purposes. The final section, based on the principle that language changes continuously but in different ways with different speakers, provides materials on historical changes in English about males and females and planned changes in English in relation to females and males. (MKM)

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CHANGING WORDS IN A CHANGING WORLD

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CS206138

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The activity which is the subject of this report was produced under a grant from the U.S. Education Department, under the auspices of the Women's Educational Equity Act. Opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Department, and no official endorsement should be inferred.

Printed and distributed by Education Development Center, 1980, 55 Chapel Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02160

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments iv
Introduction v
Linguistic Principle • 1 A Language Reflects the Culture and Values of Its Speakers 1
• People's Names 3
• Comments from Other Students 6
• Place Names 7
• Eponyms 8
• Language Customs and Weddings 9
• Marriage and People's Names 11
• Conclusion 13
• Comments from Other Students 14
• Field Work, Analysis and Discussion 15
• Composition 16
Linguistic Principle • 2 Language Forms Reflect the Viewpoint of the Majority or the Powerful Groups in a Society 17
• Language in Relation to Aging 20
• The Pronoun Problem 23
• The Problem with Man 26
• Conclusion 27
• Comments from Other Students 28
• Field Work, Analysis, and Discussion 29
• Composition 30
Linguistic Principle • 3 Exaggeration Is an Integral Part of the Communication Process 31
• Metaphors and Symbolization 33
• Presuppositions about Females and Males 34
• Exaggeration for Commercial Purposes 36
• Conclusion 38
• Comments from Other Students 39
• Field Work, Analysis, and Discussion 40
• Composition 42
Linguistic Principle • 4 Language Changes Continuously, but in Different Ways with Different Speakers 43
• Historical Changes in English about Males and Females 46
• Planned Changes in English 48
• Planned Changes in Relation to Females and Males 51
• Conclusion 57
• Comments from Other Students 58
• Field Work, Analysis, and Discussion 60
• Composition 64
Glossary of Terms 65
Sources Cited 67
Suggested Further Reading 67
About the Author 68

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Appreciation needs to be extended first to the students at Arizona State University and at McClintock High School in Tempe, Arizona who participated in the initial development of the materials, and second, to those students who participated in various stages of the field tests. These included classes at Arizona State University with instructors Kathy Bell and Marsha Feinstein, classes at Corona del Sol High School in Tempe with instructor Reggie Coates, and classes at Paradise Valley High School with instructors George Werner and Linda Jackson. Other Arizona high school teachers who lent their time and talents include Gail Briscoe at Corona del Sol, Teri Compo at West Phoenix, Gloria Smith at McClintock, and Ken Haddad at Mountain View in Mesa.

Consultants on matters of linguistic and cultural diversity included Byrd Baylor, Haig Bosmajian, Roseann Gonzales, Ken Johnson, Mary Ritchie Key, Don L.F. Nilsen, and Roger Shuy. Editorial consultant was Walter Holden. Artist and designer was David Knox. Members of the Department of Educational Technology and Library Science at Arizona State University who deserve special thanks include project consultant Howard Sullivan, department head Norman C. Higgins, evaluation consultant Karen Beyard-Tyler, secretary Liz Outcalt, and graduate research assistants Mary Balduc, Marilyn DeSelms, Andrea Greene, and Mary Lou Goldstein.

The supportive project officer from the Women's Educational Equity Act Program was Ana Maria Perera. The students whose reactions to this material shaped the organization of the book and whose compositions and discussions served as the beginnings of the sections entitled "Comments from Other Students" included Jane Ard, Catherine Bergin, Dan Bergin, Beth Bollinger, Julia Craig, Susan Denk, Anna Dee Fails, Keith Fiedler, Elizabeth Grace, Kelly Higgins, Diane Koenig, Suzanne Lawrence, Kem Parton, Tena Pasternak, Phil Strange, and Becky Turnbull.

Robert T. Stout, Dean of the ASU College of Education, should be thanked also for his support in the final stages of this project.

INTRODUCTION
CHANGING WORDS IN A CHANGING WORLD

The purpose of CHANGING WORDS IN A CHANGING WORLD is to help students and teachers understand language as the complex tool of communication that it is. People can no more get away from the influence of language than they can live lives totally untouched by other human beings. Because the United States has moved from being a simple rural society to being a complex urban society, chances are that most residents have ten times over the number of daily associates that their ancestors had only a few generations back. This means that the number and the variety of personal language encounters have increased accordingly. In addition, people are surrounded by language from the mass media, much of which is carefully designed to affect attitudes or to inspire some kind of action.

Language is power. Fortunes are made and lost not only at gaming tables, but at conference tables. News about dishonest land schemes, consumer frauds, and cases of embezzlement and other crooked dealings shows that more people are robbed of their money through the power of persuasion than through the power of force. As Marshall McLuhan observed, modern technology has reduced the world to a global village. It is as easy to hear gossip and to make judgments about someone on the other side of the world as about someone on the other side of town. Public opinion is a powerful force. Verbal dueling is seen at all levels of life. Wars are often fought with words as much as with guns. It is words that put people into positions of leadership and influence, and it is words that take them out.

As people ponder the complexity of today's world, they feel nostalgia for the past. They want to go back to times when things were simpler. But there is no turning back. Television cannot be outlawed, nor can barriers be built between one country and another, nor can people trade with and vote for only friends and neighbors they have known all their lives. Instead people must learn to cope with the world as it is today, and a big part of that world is communication. If there are forces which cannot be changed that are working on people's lives, people can at least strive to understand them and thereby be better able to defend themselves.

The purpose of this manual is to teach that understanding and to lead students and teachers to an awareness of the important role that communication plays in their lives, both individually and in reflecting, defining, and shaping the culture of which they are a part. There are many aspects of language which can be studied in relation to society. There are geographic and temporal dimensions; there are status and occupational dimensions, and many others. But the one sociolinguistic variety which universally affects all members of society is the sex dimension. Everyone is either a male or a female and has relationships with other males and females. These studies will therefore focus on this dimension, though it should be realized that it cannot be separated from its surrounding dimensions. One may be male, but also be of a certain age, geographical dialect, ethnic background that contributes to the language variety. Most students do not know two languages; nor in the confines of classrooms is there the time or material needed to embark on a thorough study of another language and culture as a true sociolinguist would do. But students do have the background experience to analyze and understand differences between language by and about males and by and about females. And they are especially interested in such a timely topic because they have personally felt the impact of it on their lives and are involved in examining the roles they expect to play in the years ahead.

LINGUISTIC PRINCIPLE • 1
A LANGUAGE REFLECTS THE CULTURE AND VALUES OF ITS SPEAKERS

From this lesson you should learn:

1. How anthropologists, linguists, and sociologists use language as evidence for analysis.
2. How concepts that are important to a group of people will be given more attention in the vocabulary of that group.
3. How language reflects values from the past.

The practice of analyzing a culture through a study of its language is nothing new. In the mid 1800s historical linguists (then known as philologists) compared religious and other precious writings originating between 1,000 B.C. and 300 A.D. They discovered similarities and were able to chart relationships between the Sanskrit family of languages in India, the Persian languages in the Middle East, and the Romance and Germanic languages in Europe. They decided that these similarities indicated that there was once a language that was the common ancestor of these languages. The language, which they called Indo-European, was evidently first spoken by a people living in eastern Europe. They managed to locate the approximate homeland of these people even though most of them had long ago migrated thousands of miles, one group to a different continent. Their ancient relationship was shown through their having such vocabulary items as *birch tree* and *bear* in common. In Sanskrit, for example, the word meaning *lacquer* or *bright red* was the old Indo-European word for *salmon*. When the people left their homeland and migrated to India they no longer had salmon, but they kept the word to use in a specialized or related sense.

More recently, when anthropologists studied American Indian tribes or any previously unknown group of people, they did linguistic studies to get insights into the way the people thought and into what they valued as a culture. Language shows this better than almost anything else because it is a system agreed upon by a whole culture. Speakers who may disagree on such matters as politics, religion, and individual life styles basically agree on the meanings of the words in their common vocabulary.

When these early linguists and anthropologists were investigating unknown cultures and languages they learned many things about people. They learned about languages and how they work. For example, it was these linguists who rejected the old idea that all languages were some impure or derived form of Latin. This had been a natural thing for European linguists to believe when they found so many relationships among French, Spanish, Italian, English, Persian, and Russian. But American linguists found perfectly adequate languages that were not related to Latin, so they changed their minds about the superiority of Latin and no longer tried to force English to follow Latin rules.

One of the interesting facts uncovered by linguists who traveled to the far North was that in certain Eskimo languages there are approximately forty words to label different kinds of snow. This is a good example to show how concepts that are important in a culture receive much attention. In English we have only a handful of snow-related terms such as *sleet, ice, blizzard, packed snow, powder,* and *slush*. But subtle differences are important for a culture in which a person's life may well depend on such matters as how strong the snow is, how much moisture is in it, how long it will keep on falling, how heavy the accompanying wind is, how hard the crust is, and how much visibility it allows. The languages reflect this importance by providing ample words with which to give detailed and accurate descriptions.

An example of a different nature which is closer to most Americans is the language of CB radio. For years truckers have used CB radios to signal for help, to fight boredom on long trips, and to warn each other of police. After the 55 mph speed limit went into effect, CB radios became popular with the general public as well as with truckers. The main motivation in buying a CB radio was to keep from getting speeding tickets. If it is true that a language reflects the culture and values of its speakers, then in CB language there should be supporting evidence of an interest in police officers.

An examination of a dictionary of CB language shows that CBers have almost three times as many words for law enforcement officers as Eskimos have for *snow*. Some examples of terms in the *CB Bible* by Porter Bibb[1] include *Dudley Do-right, Barnies, Bear, Peter Rabbit, Bull, Big Brother,* and *Bearded Buddy*. References to police cars inspired such names as *Salt and Pepper, Black and White,* and *Blue and White*. The color of police uniforms has inspired such names as *Blue Jeans, Blue Boy,* and *Man-in-Blue*. Rural or local police might be called *Local Yokels, Little Bears, County Mounties,* or

Country Joe. City officers are *City Kitties* while state officers are *Boogie Men*, *Boy Scouts*, *Sloppy Joes*, *State Bears*, and *Whatevers*. When an area is described as *Yellowstone Park* it means that there are *wall-to-wall bears*. Unmarked or hidden police cars can be referred to as *Brown-paper bags*, *Night Crawlers*, *Pink Panthers*, *Sneaky Snakes*, or *Slick Tops*. Female officers are called such names as *Girlie Bear*, *Honey Bear*, *Lady Bear*, *Mama Bear*, and *Sugar Bear*.

This last group of terms illustrates the kind of distinction that often occurs in English between language referring to males and language referring to females. Throughout this manual, many similar distinctions will be examined. Where these distinctions occur and why they occur will reveal some interesting things about American culture. Language is similar to an X-ray in that it provides visible evidence of internal conditions—in this case, thoughts and attitudes which some speakers may not even be aware of having. But words have an advantage over X-rays. They are retroactive in the sense that they were handed down through the generations and therefore show what attitudes and values people have inherited from their cultural ancestors and, therefore, what attitudes and values they are predisposed towards. It's not that ideas and values always stay the same, but in order for change to occur, people must be aware of the attitudes they may have unwittingly acquired from the culture around them. The material on the following pages directs attention to some of the ways such attitude formation occurs.

PEOPLE'S NAMES

The customs surrounding the giving of names in a culture may reveal part of the history of that culture. The United States is a country made up of many different nations of native-born Americans plus peoples who emigrated from other cultures. Each group had its own naming customs—many of which they kept—so it is impossible to describe "the American custom" of naming. For example, the Scots and the Dutch both had well-defined systems in which the same given names were repeated over and over again. In Jewish families, it is the custom to give a new baby either the masculine or feminine version of a name which has previously been used in the family. However, the stipulation is that the person who had the name before must have already died. This means that it is unnecessary for Jews to use *Jr.* or *II* after a name because only one living person has it. But with other groups, male infants are often named after their living fathers and even their grandfathers, for example, *Jeffrey Lewis Reynolds, Jr.* and *Samuel T. Johnson III.* It is less common for a girl to be named after her mother, but it is done, as with *Nancy Sinatra, Jr.* Also, *Lucy Arnaz* was named after her mother, *Lucille Ball*, but the two women have different last names because Lucille Ball kept her stage name rather than taking the last name of her husband, Desi *Arnaz*. Because women usually change their names when they marry, it is more difficult for a daughter to carry on her mother's name than for a son to carry on his father's name. However, it is fairly common for sons to be given their mother's maiden name as a middle name—for example, John *Fitzgerald* Kennedy, Lyndon *Baines* Johnson, and Richard *Milhous* Nixon.

With some Native American tribes, an infant's name is chosen to reflect the circumstances surrounding the birth. Fairly often, the maternal grandmother is given the honor of selecting the name. In several tribes, a person's given name is reserved for special occasions and a nickname is chosen for daily use. Also, in some tribes permanent names are not given until, as a young adult, the individual earns an appropriate name.

Even with all the different naming customs that can be found in the United States, there is one similarity which runs throughout. This is that given names are clearly divided into a set for males and a set for females. However, this distinction is more tightly adhered to for males than for females. It seems quite acceptable for little girls to be given such masculine-sounding names as *Chris, Pat, Toni, Nicky, Teri, Kelly,* and *Sam.* But the parents of boy babies are hesitant to give their sons names that might be confused with girls' names. It is because of this that the title of the song "A Boy Named Sue" is so much more startling than the similar title, "A Girl Named Mike," would be. A generation or so ago, men were named *Hazel, Shirley, Evelyn, Gail, Lynn, Carroll, Connie, Marion,* and *Beverley.* In the book *Watership Down*, the male leader of the rabbits is named *Hazel.* But what happened to these names, at least in the United States, is that parents of girls began using them for their daughters so that today men who have such names go either by initials or by such nicknames as *Frank, Haze, Shirl,* and *Ev.*

Most of the names given to infants have meanings rooted deep in the culture. Some parents choose a specific name for their new baby with the hope that its meaning will influence their child's life, while other parents are unaware of the meaning behind the name they select. But since these names have been used in this culture for centuries, it can be assumed that at some time all of their meanings were known and that the clear-cut division between male and female names must represent a long-established division between the hopes and aspirations that parents have had for their female, as opposed to their male, children.

Another bit of evidence that shows how male names are given more attention than female names is the way names for girls are derived from male names, for example, *Paulette* from *Paul* and *Georgia* from *George.* Male names are also used as patronymic names. The word *patronym* comes from Greek *patr* meaning *father* and *onuma* meaning *name*. With patronymic names, usually a suffix has been added as in such common American names as *Anderson, Davidson, Erikson, Johnson, Larson, Nelson, Thompson,* and *Wilson.* Such names give double attention to the male because it is the father's, not the mother's, name that is used, and the masculine *son*, not the feminine *daughter*, is added regardless of the sex of the off-spring.

Also many family names are taken from the names of men's occupations, for example, Archer, Baker, Butler, Carpenter, Cook, Farmer, Hunter, and King. And boy babies, but not girl babies, are often given family names as their first name.

Listed below are several of the most common names that children are given. They are organized in male and female groupings centered around the meanings of the words. The only names listed are those that relate to these particular meanings. There are many other names with unrelated meanings and also many names whose meanings cannot be traced. Also, there are many variations of particular names which, of course, all have the same basic meaning. For example, *Ivan, Evan, Sean, Jack*, and *Jon* are all variations of *John*, while *Elaine, Aileen, Eleanor*, and *Lena* are all variations of *Helen*.

One of the things that can be seen in the names is that parents have had hopes that their daughters would grow up to be delicate and pretty. They have given girls names related to jewels, flowers, and small, dainty animals such as butterflies, bees, and birds. They have not wanted these same qualities in their sons. *Clint* and *Jonah* are unusual names for boys in that they are taken from the name of a small animal.

FEMALE NAMES

Ada—an ornament, happy
Avis—bird
Camellia—camellia
Daisy—daisy
Daphne—laurel
Deborah—queen bee
Dorinda—gift
Esmeralda—emerald
Estelle—star
Esther—star
Evelyn—hazelnut
Fawn—fawn (deer)
Flora—flower
Heather—heather
Hyacinth—hyacinth
Iris—iris (flower)
rainbow
Ivy—ivy
Jemima—dove
Laura—laurel
Lilian—lily
Margaret—pearl
Melissa—bee
Muriel—myrrh
Myrtle—myrtle
Opal—opal
Pearl—pearl
Phyllis—green bough or leaf
Rhoda—rose
Rosabel—beautiful rose
Rosalind—little rose
Ruby—ruby
Stella—star
Susannah—lily
Vanessa—butterfly
Viola—violet

MALE NAMES

Clint—dove
Jonah—dove

Although the gentleness of religious qualities seems in ways to be in the feminine domain, more sons than daughters are given names that relate in some way to God or to a religious quality. Perhaps this is because people take having a son more seriously than they do having a daughter. Or it might relate to the fact that God is usually thought of as a strong masculine figure.

FEMALE NAMES

Angela—angel
Angelica—angelic
Astrid—God's power
Dorothy—gift of God
Elizabeth—consecrated to God
Ida—happy; god-like
Olga—holy
Thea—goddess
Theodosia—gift of God

MALE NAMES

Aaron—enlightener
Abram—exalted father
Benedict—blessed
Christian—Christian
Christopher—bearer of Christ
Clement—merciful
Daniel—God is my judge
Dean—from an ancient religious or military title
Dominic—of the Lord
Elijah—Jehovah is God
Eliot—God's gift
Elisha—God is salvation
Gabriel—man of God
Goddard—divine resoluteness
Godfrey—peace of God
Godwin—friend of God
Isaiah—salvation of God
Jeremiah—God's chosen
Jerome—holy name
Joel—Jehovah is God
John—God is good
Jonathan—God has given
Joseph—God has given (a son)
Joshua—God is salvation
Josiah—God supports
Lazarus—God has helped
Lemuel—belonging to God
Michael—who is like God
Obadiah—servant of God
Pius—devout
Raphael—God has healed
Samuel—name of God
Saul—asked (of God)
Theodore—gift of God
Theophilus—lover of God
Timothy—honor of God
Tobias—God is good
Uriel—light of God

One kind of power that has been thought appropriate for males more than females is that relating to physical strength as shown through combat. Only two female names could be found with meanings related to weapons, but there were ten male names.

FEMALE NAMES

Brenda—sword; torch
Gertrude—spear maid

MALE NAMES

Alger—noble spear
Barry—spear, hence straightforward
Edgar—rich spear
Gerald—spear ruler
Gerard—hard spear
Giles—shield or protection
Oscar—divine spear
Randal—shield wolf
Roger—famous spear
Thurston—Thor's stone

Parents have wanted their sons to have wisdom and fame and to be strong and powerful. Of course many parents have also wanted these things for their daughters, but not in the same degree, as shown by the fact that in the next column the list of male names is approximately twice as long as the list of female names.

FEMALE NAMES

Audrey—noble might
Bernice—victorious
Bertha—bright; famous
Bonny—good
Clara—bright; illustrious
Cleopatra—celebrated of her country
Edith—prosperous in war
Ethel—noble
Eunice—good victory
Evangeline—bearer of glad tidings
Gloria—glory
Hilda—battle maiden
Hildegarde—guardian; battle maiden
Honora—honor
Judith—praised
Matilda—mighty battle maiden
Mildred—moderate power
Millicent—power to work
Miranda—admirable
Mona—noble
Sarah—princess
Sibyl—prophetess
Sophia—wise
Victoria—victory

MALE NAMES

Abraham—exalted father of multitudes
Albert—nobly bright
Alexander—defender of men
Alfred—elf counselor, hence wise
Anthony—inestimable
Archibald—nobly bold
Arnold—eagle power
Arthur—he-bear; from a royal title suggesting valor, strength
Augustus—venerable
Avery—courageous
Baldwin—bold friend
Basil—kingly
Benjamin—son of the right hand, hence favorite son
Boris—warrior
Conrad—bold counselor
Dexter—right, righthanded, hence skilled or fortunate
Drew—skilled one
Edmund—rich protector
Eli—the highest
Elmer—nobly famous
Emery—work ruler
Eugene—man of a good family
Ferdinand—peaceful courage
Guy—leader
Harold—chief of the army
Harvey—army battle
Hector—he who holds fast; defender
Henry—home ruler
Herbert—glory of the army
Herman—man of the army
Hiram—honored brother
Hubert—bright spirit or mind
Hugh—mind; intelligence
Ira—vigilant
Israel—contender with God
Jacob—he who seizes by the heel; hence successor
Laurence—laureled; hence prophetic or poetic
Leonard—strong as a lion
Leopold—the people's strong one
Louis—famous in war
Luther—famous warrior
Martin—of Mars (God of War)
Maynard—powerful strength
Melvin—high protector
Muhammad—the praised one
Neil—champion
Nero—strong; from the name of a Roman clan
Nicholas—the people's victory
Owen—young warrior
Raymond—wise protection
Rex—king
Richard—strong king
Roald—famous ruler
Robert—bright fame
Roland—country's fame
Siegfried—victorious peace
Simeon—he who is widely heard, hence famous
Stephen—crown
Theobald—the people's brave one
Theodoric—ruler of the people
Valentine—strong; healthy
Victor—conqueror
Vincent—conquering
Virgil—flourishing
Waldo—ruler
Walter—ruler of the army
Ward—guard
William—resolute protection

COMMENTS FROM OTHER STUDENTS

a. It's not always true that boys don't have feminine-sounding names. Take the case of Rosey Grier and Alice Cooper. I'll bet Cooper chose *Alice* as a stage name to attract attention. Singers are always trying to come up with unusual names such as *The Grateful Dead* and *Led Zeppelin*. These are contradictions, just like *Alice* is for a boy's name. Football players are also in the entertainment business, and I'm sure Rosey Grier likes the attention he gets from having a girl's name. His real name is *Roosevelt* anyway. I read an article about his doing needlepoint in his spare time. Because he's a big tough football player he can get away with it.

b. S.E. Hinton, who is the author of several popular novels for teenagers, is often thought of by her readers as a man. When Susan Elizabeth Hinton wrote *The Outsiders* while she was still in high school, her publisher suggested that she would be taken more seriously if she used her initials. People would then think she was a man. To think of adventure, excitement, and sports as being things that only men can write about is a form of prejudice. Why must a woman feel that her books will be read only if people think a man is the author? In the same vein, it is wrong that a man has to use a feminine-sounding name to publish a romantic novel.

c. I think that girls who have "boy" names like Billie Jean King are more apt to do active or boy – type things, but it is probably not just because they are influenced by their name. The parents who choose an unusual name for their little girl are probably going to encourage her to be nontraditional in lots of other ways.

PLACE NAMES

People's names that have become part of the everyday language by being used as geographical names also reveal some interesting differences in cultural attitudes toward males and females. One difference is that given names—as opposed to family names—seem to be more important to females. This is probably because traditionally the given name has been the one that stayed with a woman her whole life, while her family name changed when she married. One result is that in place names, women's first names and men's last names are used. For example, near Nashville, Tennessee, one of the big highways is called *Charlotte's Pike* after a woman whose house was near the road. In Michigan, *Ann Arbor* is named after two women, both named Ann, who had a pleasant meeting place in the woods between their homes. In contrast, towns and cities named after men are more likely to incorporate the man's surname, as in *Washington, D.C.; Columbus, Ohio; Lewiston, Idaho; Hamilton, Ohio;* and *Greeley, Colorado.*

Some people think that the custom of referring to women with either their first names or their first and last names while referring to men with only their surnames has caused listeners to assume that it is always men who are honored by having their names on public buildings, streets, and cities. For example, people do not think of Dolley Madison when they hear of *Madison Avenue* in New York. Yet they are not surprised to see *Dolly Madison* cupcakes, because this is something that is in the feminine domain of food and both her given name and her surname are used.

People do not usually name streets, schools, and towns after themselves. Someone else chooses to do it as an honor. In naming towns or streets after women who are living, as opposed to a story character or someone who has died, there are special problems. For example, if a grandfather is a contractor who decides to name a street in his new subdivision after his granddaughter, there's a fifty-fifty chance that the two of them will have the same last name. If he gives the street this name, then everyone will think he has named the street after himself. Of course the same is true if he wishes to name the street after a grandson. But there is an extra complication with the girl: as soon as she marries she will probably change her last name, and the street will no longer appear to be named for her.

Another difference is that streets and towns are usually named after men who have done something significant or have become nationally famous in some way, while streets and towns named after women are more likely to be named after women who have been known on a local basis. According to *The Naming of America* by Allan Wolk,[2] the only famous American woman who has had a town named after her is Clara Barton. But there are over 400 towns named after men who are famous in American history. For example, sixty towns trace their name in some way to Christopher Columbus. Thirty-six are named after Benjamin Franklin, fifteen after Alexander Hamilton, fifteen after Thomas Hart Benton, and eight after Daniel Boone. However, there are more towns named after Greek and Roman goddesses than after Greek and Roman gods. For example, six towns are named after Ceres, the goddess of agriculture or cereal; seven after Pomona, the goddess of fruit trees; four after Venus, the goddess of love and beauty; and eight after Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. In contrast, the greatest number of towns named after a god is three. This is the number named after Mars, the god of war, and after Neptune, the god of the sea.

Perhaps one of the reasons that there are proportionately more towns named after mythological goddesses than after real American women is that what women in real life have most often been honored for is the role that they play in relation to the members of their families. There is nothing wrong with women being honored for their success as wives and mothers, but such successes take a lifetime of effort so they aren't dramatic in the same way as is the career of an explorer, an inventor, or a general in the army. Also when a woman's success is judged in relation to her family, then the primary focus is on the family and only secondarily on her.

But today women can be wives and mothers and also do the kinds of dramatic things that gain public honors. Technology has made this possible. For example, husbands and wives, aided by modern appliances, do household chores in a fraction of the time that used to be required. Also better maternity and child care has made it so that families no longer have to have six children in hopes of raising three or four, and over the last two generations, medical technology has increased the lifespan of women twenty-one years. This means that today, women have time that was unavailable to their grandmothers. Within the next fifty years what women do with this time will probably begin to show in the names of streets, towns, and schools.

7.

EPONYMS

Another way that people's names get into the common vocabulary is through eponyms. An eponym is someone's name which is also used to refer to something else. Many speakers do not realize that there was a real person behind the name. For example, the verb *to lynch* has been traced to the name of Charles Lynch, an extra-zealous justice of the peace in Virginia during the 1700s. Most people do not know about this man and would not think anything about the origin of the word when they heard it. But with a newer eponym such as *Eisenhower jacket*, many speakers might still get a mental picture of General Dwight David Eisenhower wearing his favorite kind of jacket. Similarly with *Franklin stove* people might think of Benjamin Franklin, and with *sousaphone* people might think of John Philip Sousa.

Listed below are some other common eponyms that have come into American English within the last 300 years. They are divided according to whether they came from a male's or a female's name.

FROM A FEMALE'S NAME

Alice blue (favorite color of Alice Roosevelt Longworth)
Annie Oakley (a free pass, after the shooting expert whose small targets resembled punched tickets)
Bloomers (after Amelia Jenks Bloomer, who in the 1800s advocated that women be allowed to wear trousers)
Mae West jacket (inflated life preserver, after the buxom actress)

FROM A MALE'S NAME

Bartlett pear (after a Massachusetts distributor)
Diesel engine (after inventor Rudolf Diesel)
Ferris wheel (after engineer George W.G. Ferris)
Gatling gun (after inventor R.J. Gatling)
Mason jar (after inventor John L. Mason)
Pulitzer Prize (after Joseph Pulitzer, who donated the money)
Pullman car (after inventor George M. Pullman)
The real McCoy (after a celebrated boxer named Kid McCoy)
Sideburns (after the beard style of General Ambrose Burnside)
Teddy bear (after Theodore Roosevelt, who loved animals)
Uncle Sam (probably after meat inspector Samuel Wilson, who in 1812 stamped *U.S.* on barrels of meat)
Uncle Tom (a Black who is servile to whites, after a character in the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*)
Winchester rifle (after manufacturer Oliver F. Winchester)

The differences in the eponyms that have come from men's names and women's names relate both to importance and respect and to the division of what people expect to be the domain of the male and the female. Things in the female domain have been connected with home, family, and emotions, and have not had as much prestige as things in the male domain connected with wars, politics, inventions, etc. This becomes especially apparent from longer lists of eponyms, which would include scientific and technical terms and eponyms that came into the language before the Americans separated from the British. *Maudlin*, for example, comes from the weepy appearance of Mary Magdalene in many classic paintings. *Aphrodisiac* comes from Aphrodite, who was the goddess of love and beauty, and *Melba toast* comes from Dame Nellie Melba, an Australian singer who liked such toast. There are eponyms related to food from men's names—for example, *sandwich* from the Earl of Sandwich and a *Tom Collins* from a bartender's name—but the large percentage of eponyms from men's names come from something they developed or invented.

As women get into science and technology, probably more such eponyms from their names will get into the language. The life of Marie Curie shows that the change is already occurring. When, in 1898, she discovered an element, it was called *polonium* after her native Poland rather than *curium*, which might have led people to give credit to her husband, Pierre. However, we now have the element *curium*, named after both Curies, and the *curie* unit of radioactivity, named after Marie alone.

LANGUAGE CUSTOMS AND WEDDINGS

Births, weddings, and funerals are milestone events in people's lives. But of these three, weddings are the only ones that can be fully participated in and enjoyed by the individuals as well as by their families. Weddings are happy celebrations. In American life, they have taken the place of the rites-of-passage ceremonies that tribal cultures traditionally held in honor of group members passing from childhood into adulthood. Because of the importance of a wedding, both to the individuals getting married and to the society which is made up of family units, it is to be expected that there will be many wedding traditions and customs that are passed on from generation to generation. Moreover, because the marriage union is based on one of the partners being female and the other male, then it follows that many of these traditions and customs will reflect the many differing attitudes that people have toward males and females. In keeping with the subject of this learning unit, we will talk only about the language customs that relate to weddings. However, you can probably make extensions and see how the same values and attitudes that are shown through the language are also shown through other customs, such as the buying and wearing of engagement and wedding rings, the financial responsibility for the wedding, and on what basis the decision is usually made as to where the couple will live after they are married.

One of the attitudes that is revealed through the language customs is that a wedding is more of a celebration for the bride than for the groom. The parents of the bride are the ones to announce the engagement and the marriage. Just recently have customs begun to change so that the names of the groom's parents may also be included on the announcement. News of the wedding is printed on what is generally called the "Women's Pages" or the "Society Page" of the newspaper. Some newspapers use a term like "Home" or "Living," but still gear their reports toward women. Usually, for example, only the bride's picture is shown, but this too is changing.

Bride is a more important term than *bridegroom* in that it appears in several derived words or phrases, for example, *bridesmaid, bridal shower, bridal veil, Bridal Veil Falls,* and *bridal wreath* (plant). *Groom* comes from the Middle English *grom*, meaning *man*, and in this sense it is seldom used outside of a wedding. The importance to a woman of being married is also shown by the fact that when a marriage ends in death, it is the woman who gets the title of *widow*. A man gets the derived title of *widower*. This term is not used in other phrases or contexts, but *widow* is seen in *widowhood, widow's peak* and *widow's walk*. A *widow* in a card game is an extra hand of cards, while in typesetting it is an extra line of type. *Widower* and *bridegroom* are both very unusual because in nearly all cases of "matching" pairs of male/female words, it is the masculine word that is basic and the feminine word that is derived by the addition of an affix. These two words go against the usual pattern of *host/hostess, major/majorette, aviator/aviatrix, male/female*, etc.

The phrase *bride and groom* is unusual in another way. With nearly all pairs of male and female terms,* most people automatically say the masculine word first and the feminine word last—for example, *Mr. and Mrs., his and hers, boys and girls, men and women, kings and queens, brothers and sisters, guys and dolls*, and *host and hostess*. But it is the other way around in connection with a wedding. It is the *bride and groom* who are talked about, not the *groom and bride*.

Other pairs of words which are family related, such as *mother and father* and *aunt and uncle*, might also be said with the feminine form coming first, but the pattern is not set as firmly in people's minds as is *bride and groom*, that is people could say "my father and mother," and "my uncle and aunt" without attracting attention. But the phrase *ladies and gentlemen* is firmly established with the feminine form coming first. This is probably because it is a phrase that is used in conjunction with formal situations and etiquette. It goes along with such ideas as "ladies first," and people subconsciously think of this kind of etiquette as being in the feminine domain just as weddings are.

The difference in the connotations of the phrases *bachelor* and *spinster* or *old maid* is another example of how the language shows that marriage is important to women. *Old maid* is such a negative term that metaphors are based on it. Pretentious and fussy old men are sometimes called *old maids* as an insult. And leftover kernels of unpopped popcorn are also called *old maids*. It is common to refer to a man as an *eligible bachelor*, but a woman is never referred to as an *eligible old maid* or an

Ladies and gentlemen is another exception.

eligible spinster. This is because eligibility for a woman is figured on such things as youth and attractiveness. The popular assumption is that when a woman is old enough to be called an *old maid* or a *spinster*, she has neither of these. Therefore, the term *eligible* is no longer appropriate. However, it can be used in the phrase *eligible widow*. The implication may be either that the woman is physically attractive or that she has money left to her by her late husband.

Of course men too are expected to marry and have a family or the society could not perpetuate itself. But men are also expected to do many other things with their lives. Marriage is to be fitted into a broader life plan. *Bachelor* has positive connotations only up to a certain stage in life and then it takes on negative tones as in, "that old bach who chases the kids out of his orchard."

Business executives in line for high positions are expected to have gracious, capable wives and so are politicians. The First Lady is almost an office in the U.S. government. When President Ford was running against Jimmy Carter, supporters made signs reading "Betty Ford for First Lady." With many different jobs, it is taken for granted that a man's wife will be a *helpmate*. The reverse is less common.

Another interesting little difference is that a woman may be called a *bride* for an entire year after the wedding, but a man is called a *groom* only on the wedding day. Before a wedding, men celebrate at a bachelor party where they tend to look backward on *single bliss*, while women have showers where they look forward to a romanticized view of married life. Each ceremony seems to celebrate the state that sex considers ideal—bachelorhood for men and marriage for women.

The wording of the wedding ceremony is also revealing of cultural attitudes inherited from speakers of the past few centuries. Language used in religious ceremonies and texts changes more slowly than most other kinds of language. This is because religious language is rich in tradition and history. Latin was used in Catholic church services long after it had disappeared from most other places; Hebrew has been preserved in Jewish services; and the Protestant churches generally still favor the King James Version of the Bible with its *thees* and *thous* over modern English versions. As part of religious — and therefore sanctified — language, the wording of the traditional wedding ceremony has been slow to change. However, in recent years many people have made small but significant changes:

OLD FORM	NEW FORM
I now pronounce you man and wife.	I now pronounce you *husband* and wife.
Do you (the bride's name) promise to love, honor, and obey. . .	Do you (the bride's name) promise to love, honor, and *cherish*. . .
In answer to the question of "Who gives the bride away?", the father answers, "I do."	In answer to the question of "Who gives the bride away?", the father answers, "Her mother and I do."

The new wordings indicate a growing awareness of language and the values that language transmits. People are taking an active role in changing the language customs to better fit their private feelings and public attitudes. But the question, "Who gives the bride away?" which still appears in most ceremonies is another example of language lag. It goes back to the days when a man's servants, his children, and his wife were all considered to be his property. This is why they took his name. An extension of this idea that the woman is being "handed over" from one man to another is seen in the wording of wedding announcements on society pages of newspapers. Although this is an area that is undergoing change, many traditional newspapers still list the man as the actor and the woman as the passive receiver of the action, that is, men wed women and women become brides of men, etc.

MARRIAGE AND PEOPLE'S NAMES

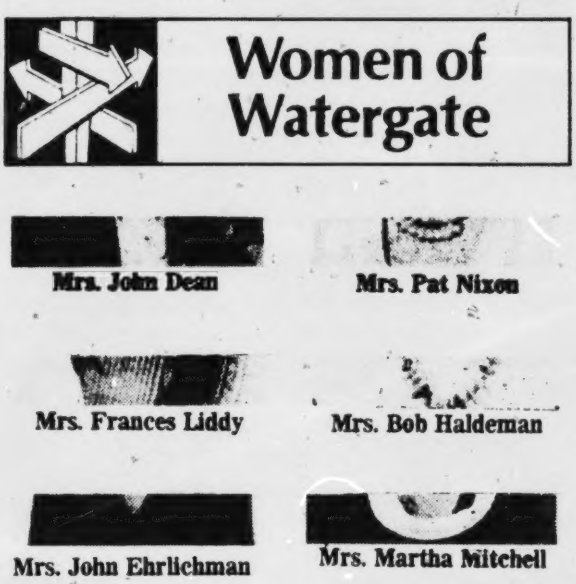
Probably the marriage language custom with the most far-reaching effect is the change of name that a woman usually undergoes. People's attitudes vary tremendously on this. Many girls look forward to taking the names of their husbands, as in *Mrs. Robert N. Maxton*, but others feel the custom is strange — as if they are being asked to become someone entirely different just because they have married. Modern couples sometimes take both names, putting a hyphen between them: thus, Mary Brown and John Williams might become Mary and John Brown-Williams.

According to an article by sociologist Andrew Cherlin entitled "Hereditary Hyphens" which appeared in the December, 1978 issue of *Psychology Today*, about ten percent of the couples now marrying in Hawaii take non-traditional last names. He could get such statistics because marriage licenses in Hawaii, unlike those of the other states, contain a blank for the couple to write in the surname each of them will use. In other states it is assumed that the couple will go by the husband's surname even though only two states have statutes specifying this. Cherlin conjectured that if Hawaii is typical — which it may not be — then approximately 200,000 couples throughout the United States annually buck tradition by hyphenating their last names, each keeping his or her own name, or taking an entirely new name.

Cherlin interviewed a sampling of couples with hyphenated last names to see what they were doing about naming their offspring. He found that some of the couples went back to tradition and gave the infant only the father's last name, while other couples chose to give the baby their hyphenated last name. But these parents agreed that if two people with hyphenated last names should grow up and decide to marry each other, there would be a problem since it would be impractical for them to have four last names. One suggested remedy is that when girls marry they drop their father's name and when boys marry they drop their mother's name. Whether or not this will actually become an accepted custom is something that only time will tell. Over the centuries naming practices do change. For example, in the middle ages, people did not have family names.

Going along with the name change that most American women undergo when they marry is a change in title from *Miss* to *Mrs.* Etiquette books used to teach that if a woman had *Mrs.* in front of her name then the husband's name should follow. The logic was that *Mrs.* is an abbreviated form of *Mistress* and a woman couldn't be a mistress of herself. However, this argument isn't very logical because the word *Miss* is also an abbreviation of *Mistress*. Most speakers use the titles without really thinking of the word *Mistress* anyway. It was to do away with the confusion surrounding these two terms and to make the language more equitable to males and females that the title *Ms.* was introduced.

Ms. came into general usage fairly rapidly because it filled a need, especially in the business world where it was impractical for a company to have to find out a woman's marital status before sending her a form letter. But it still did not make naming practices the same for men and women. Women have the option of using several different titles and forms of their name, while men are quite restricted. All that men can do is decide whether to use middle names and initials or to keep *Jr.* or *II, III,* or *IV,* etc. Because there are so many possibilities for women's names, newspapers and magazines often have a hard time deciding what name to use. For example, a national wire service news story about "Women of Watergate" listed the women as Mrs. John Dean, Mrs. Bob Haldeman, Mrs. John Ehrlichman, Mrs. Pat Nixon,



Mrs. Frances Liddy, and Mrs. Martha Mitchell. Perhaps the better-known women were listed under their given names or perhaps the women had expressed a preference for one name or the other.

Another example of inconsistency are the clippings below, all taken from the same concert program. The women members of the Board of Directors are listed under their husband's names, for example, Mrs. Gary K. Herberger and Mrs. Joseph E. Arace, Jr. The men's names are listed in full form with initials and *Jr.* This is probably because the role of being on a symphony orchestra board of directors is a philanthropic and prestigious kind of service which is often carried on by socially prominent families. In comparison, people do not get invited to join a symphony orchestra because of their family background. Instead they are chosen on the basis of their skill. Perhaps this is why the performers' names are given without initials or titles, which would emphasize family relationships. However, two of the women—Diana Ray Goodman and Nina Wolodkin Wexler—appear to have listed both their maiden names and their married names. One musician explained that whenever she did anything professional, she included her maiden name because it was her parents who had made her practice and who paid for all the music lessons that she took. A third system is seen with the soloist. She is listed only with her maiden name, Monique Duphil, and then a note is added to tell whom she married. Many women in show business and in other professional roles keep their own names for business use because they have worked so hard to get their names known that they do not want to have to start all over again.

Phoenix Symphony Association

1977-1978 Season

OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

*Lewis J. Ruskin	Chairman of the Board
*Mrs. Gary K. Herberger	President
*J. Wilson Barrett	Vice President
*Howard V. C. Davis	Vice President
*Jerome L. Froimson	Vice President
*Ralph Rizzolo	Vice President
*Thomas E. Sunderland	Vice President
*Robert Turpin	Vice President
*Mrs. Joseph E. Arace, Jr.	Secretary
*Donald P. Dupont	Treasurer

Susan Wilson
Leslie Myron
Dorothy Williams
Diana Ray Goodman

Double Basses
Barry Olson,
Principal
John Casey,
Asst. Principal
Dan Swaim
Glenn Stallcop
Judith Parman
Nina Wolodkin Wexler
Warren Campbell

MONIQUE DUPHIL

Pianist

Married to the Austrian 'cellist Florian Ebersberg, Miss Duphil lives with her husband and two daughters in Caracas, Venezuela, where she has gained a place of outstanding prominence throughout Latin America for her performances of new keyboard works written by South American composers. Many of these works have been written for or dedicated to Miss Duphil. Her latest recording includes two of these works and is entitled "Jewels of America."

CONCLUSION

From working with the material in this lesson, you should gain insights into the fact that language is a social phenomenon. It is more than a predetermined set of sounds in the air and squiggles on paper. The words that people use both as individuals and as group members reveal what they think is important and what they like and dislike. This is one of the reasons that people in different areas of the world speak differently—and also one of the reasons that subcultures within the same geographical area speak different dialects. For example, college slang is different from the speech heard in a manufacturing plant or in a bank because the people are interested in different things.

You should also gain insights into the ways that social scientists (anthropologists, linguists, and sociolinguists) can use language as evidence to study the characteristics of a culture.

COMMENTS FROM OTHER STUDENTS

d. I understand the philosophy behind the *Ms.* title which is that a woman's marital status should be treated in the same way as a man's. But instead of simplifying things, the new title made them more complicated. Now we have three titles instead of two to choose from. In Ohio where I lived last year, the newspapers used *Miss* for an unmarried woman, *Mrs.* for a married woman, and *Ms.* for either a divorced woman or a feminist.

e. People complain about families having only one name because they don't understand how categories work. We put together things that go together in one category and use the category's name—like *dogs* or *cats* or *trees*. Trees are a good example. Down South they call a lot of trees *pines*, like hemlocks and spruces. They even say "spruce pine" is the name of a tree. It's like saying *Smith-Jones*, like some women want to do after they are married. Is a spruce pine a spruce or a pine? There must be a difference, or we wouldn't have two names. Besides, if you kept it up every time somebody got married, you'd have a string of names like a string of boxcars. What I mean is if Miss Smith-Jones married Mr. Blackington-Huckleby, would she be Mrs. Smith-Jones-Blackington-Huckleby?

f. People say it is more convenient for a family to be known under a single name, that of the father. But the question is, from whose viewpoint is it so convenient? Maybe the father's and the phone company's, but it isn't so convenient for me if I can't find telephone numbers for my married friends.

g. The way that a woman is given her husband's name is the same way that slaves were given their master's names. Malcolm X changed his last name to show he rejected the idea of his ancestors being owned by someone else. I have a cousin who just got married and she decided to keep her own name. Her husband didn't mind, but her mother is embarrassed to write letters to her and her husband and to put both names on the outside. She's afraid the mail carrier will think they are living together without being married.

h. My mother's family came from Mexico and her name is Estrada, but my dad's family is 57-variety American. His family name is Nielsen. There are seven children in our family. We speak Spanish and are very much Chicano. In grade school I remember one day when our teacher was mad because on some form that she had to fill out so the school could get extra money for bilingual education, she could not count any of us because we didn't have a Spanish surname. I wondered why the government thought it was more important who our father was than who our mother was.

i. What I can't figure out is why babies always have to have their father's last name. In the gossip magazines I've read about pregnant movie stars who get married "to give their child a name." Why couldn't the baby just have the mother's last name? Is it some kind of disgrace or a way that society has of punishing the woman who gets pregnant without being married?

j. There's nothing wrong with a woman taking her husband's last name and dropping hers. Neither is there anything wrong with hyphenating the two names. It is up to the individuals to decide. Just because something is tradition does not make it good or bad. Names do not make a marriage. People do.

k. I have found that among my girl friends the term *Ms.* accentuates rather than de-emphasizes the traditional female role. Six out of ten girls preferred the use of the term *Ms.* as a matter of convenience. One girl preferred the title *Ms.* because it sounds "more sophisticated." However, all of them would rather be addressed by the title *Mrs.* after they are married. The reason given for this preference was based on tradition: "It goes along with accepting the name."

FIELD WORK, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

1. Do you think that boys feel a pressure to "live up to their name" when they carry on their father's name or when they are given their mother's maiden name? Is it just a coincidence that three consecutive presidents—John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Lyndon Baines Johnson, and Richard Milhous Nixon—all had their mother's family names? Perhaps their mothers were especially ambitious for their sons and helped to mold them into world leaders.
2. See if you can find any evidence in your community or state of efforts that are being made to use women's names in places of honor. For example, one student observed: "There is a new custom in our town of naming the elementary schools after married couples who have contributed to the community. We have a Francis and Irma Connolly Junior High School and a Juan and Concepcion Aguilar Elementary School. Of course there is still a problem in that no kid ever says something like, 'I go to the Juan and Concepcion Aguilar School.' Instead the school is just called Aguilar and then everybody forgets that it was really named after a man and a woman." What problems, if any, do you see standing in the way of giving women's names a bigger place in history? Name some women who might appropriately have a school named after them.
3. Take a survey of ten married women to determine which form of their name they prefer. Record your results as in the columns below. You might also note the approximate ages of the women, whether or not they have a job or profession, and if so, what it is. Also ask whether they use different forms of their names under different circumstances. Analyze your findings, telling whether or not your informants agreed and whether or not there was a correlation between their opinions and their age group and/or profession.

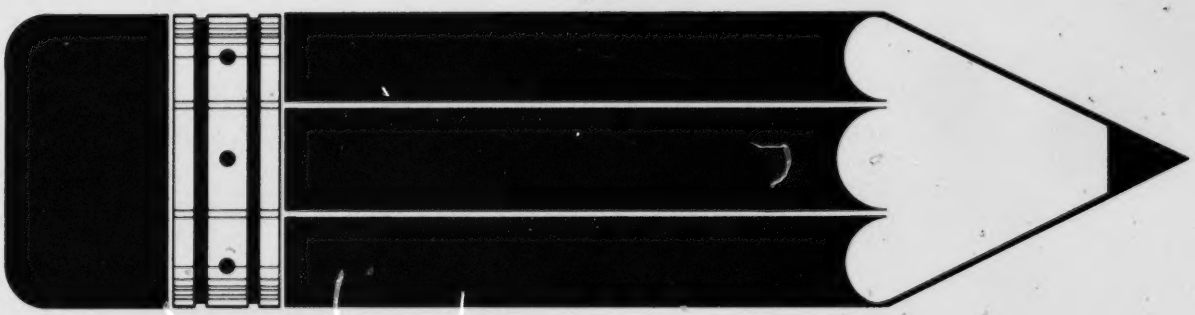
PATTERN A	PATTERN B	PATTERN C	PATTERN D
Given name + own family name as in	Given name + own family name + husband's family name as in	Given name + husband's family name as in	*Mrs.* + husband's given name + husband's family name as in
CHRIS EVERT	CHRIS EVERT-LLOYD	CHRIS LLOYD	MRS. JOHN LLOYD

4. Study a local newspaper and figure out what its policy is for writing women's names. What titles does it use? Is it inconsistent, using one style for news stories and another for human interest stories or stories appearing in the family sections or the society pages? The usual way of printing a man's name is to print it in full the first time it appears and then to use only the surname in subsequent references. If this is the system also used for women, does it seem natural or do you find yourself surprised to see women referred to by their last name only?
5. The speech community that you are best qualified to analyze is that of your own family. Check to see if there is a difference in the way that girls and boys carry on family names. Think of the last two or three generations of names in your family. Write down the names of all those who were named after someone else. Divide your names into two lists—one masculine and the other feminine. Do you have more names belonging to one sex than to the other? If so, what factors might have contributed to the lopsidedness?

COMPOSITION

Write an essay based on one of the following ideas:

1. Choose one of the analysis problems given on page 15. Collect and analyze data other than those done in class. Write a report explaining your data and the conclusions you reached.
2. Collect evidence about your own name. Look up its meaning. Ask your parents why they chose it for you. Think of your first memories of it. Did you ever wish you were named something else? Have you changed your name or the spelling of it? If so, why? Write an essay telling how your life has been affected by the name that you were given.
3. Using one of the "Comments from Other Students" as a basis, write an essay in which you either extend the idea that the student was getting at or present a counter view.



16.

LINGUISTIC PRINCIPLE • 2
LANGUAGE FORMS REFLECT THE VIEWPOINT OF THE MAJORITY OR THE POWERFUL GROUPS IN A SOCIETY

From this lesson you should learn:

1. How denotations and connotations differ.
2. How decisions are made as to language customs and usages.
3. How the nature of language makes over-generalizations necessary.
4. How, as members of a group, people are ethnocentric in their speech.

It is amazing that 217 million people living in the United States can comfortably agree on anything, even on something as simple as the meanings of common words such as *sky* or *chair*. But for a language to work as a communication system, it is necessary that speakers agree generally on the meanings of words. The branch of linguistics which deals with the meanings of words is known as semantics, and it is one of the most complex areas of language study because the meanings of a word are not just what is found in dictionaries. Meanings are found instead in the brains of all the speakers and listeners and writers and readers of a language. A meaning will probably differ from person to person. The denotations of words—direct, specific meanings—are fairly easy to understand with concrete nouns such as *desk*, *tree*, and *ball*. But with abstract nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and function words, meanings are much harder to communicate and to agree upon. Concrete things are those which we can see, hear, smell, touch, and feel; abstract things and ideas cannot be taken in directly through our senses. Even harder to understand are the connotations of words. These are the emotional overtones which a word conveys. For example, someone might be referred to as *a square, an egghead,* or *a bright young man*. Each phrase could denote or point to the same person, but obviously the impact on the listener varies because the phrases have different connotations. People may not like particular words or the concepts for which they stand. Yet if the word is a part of the language, speakers probably know and accept a meaning that at least comes close to the meaning that other speakers have in their minds.

Who decides on the meanings of words? Very seldom is it a single individual; rather, a number of people agree. The permanence of the word or usage in the language depends on the power of this group which agrees on the meaning. In some countries there are officially appointed groups called academies or councils which are assigned the job of approving new words or settling disputes about old ones. In the United States this function has been performed in unofficial ways; for example, by dictionary editors, writers of grammar and usage textbooks, English teachers, and linguistic scholars. Popular writers and publishers also have a tremendous influence on the language. When a popular writer uses a word with a certain meaning, that meaning is firmly set in the language because the writer's words will be preserved in libraries and read over and over by countless people separated both in time and distance from the writer. In this imaginative way words like *chortle, squawk, veep,* and *goon* have entered our language.

Many Americans have seen within their lifetimes the development of new kinds of communication—that is, the mass media, with television sets, radios, movies, tapes, records, newspapers, and magazines. These past fifty years, in which the mass media has developed into the force that it is today, are only a tiny portion of the thousands of years that people have been communicating with language. Just how television and the other forms of mass media communication will affect language is difficult to predict, but probably it will still be the people in power—particularly in relation to communication—whose language will become known and will be preserved and, therefore, learned by contemporaries as well as by generations that follow.

Controversial issues are especially good for revealing the way speakers create language that will make themselves look good. One of the best—or perhaps it should be called the worst—examples to come out of the Vietnam War was the phrase *anticipatory retaliation*. This was used in press announcements by the Pentagon as a euphemism to announce bombing raids. A *euphemism* is a pleasant-sounding word or phrase which someone intentionally selects in an attempt to soften embarrassing or harsh concepts. Since in the Vietnam war Americans were supposed to be helping defend a weak country rather than leading attacks on other countries, it occurred to someone that the word *retaliation* was much more acceptable than, for example, *attack, raid,* or *strike*. But the meaning of *retaliate* is something like "getting even" or "paying someone back for having hurt you." To make it possible to use this more appealing word without telling a provable lie, an ingenious

information officer came up with the idea of using the word *retaliation* together with the word *anticipatory*. This officer had access to the mass media and was conducting press conferences and sending out official press releases. The phrase became known to millions of people. Anyone listening to the news carefully enough to analyze the phrase or to translate it into ordinary words would realize it was biased because it says something like "We were getting even with someone for something we thought they might be going to do to us." But in reality, most people do not listen to the news that carefully. They just accepted the term and the neutral, if not positive, connotations that went along with it. Today the phrase is for the most part forgotten.

Anticipatory retaliation was an example of a carefully planned attempt to use language in such a way that it would make a particular group look good. Advertisers and public relations people do the same thing. Long before there was such a field of endeavor as public relations, people were creating and using words that would reflect positively on themselves. It is the most natural thing in the world for speakers to think that the way they look or the way they act is "normal" and "right." Everyone or everything else is deviant. This emotional identification with one's group is called *ethnocentricity*, and it appears around the world at many different levels. For example, English-speakers, because a majority of them have light-colored skin, speak of people with dark skin as though they were the "different" ones, when it is actually the light-colored skin that is in the minority in the world. In a native language of Nigeria, people with light skin are described as people whose skin has been peeled off. From the black point of view, a white person is missing the outer, dark layer of skin. In other native African languages, white people are described not as white, but as red, which is really a more accurate description of Caucasians, especially after they spend a few days in the African sunshine.

Creation and selection of terms by speakers depend on their point of view. If these speakers have enough power and influence to impose their viewpoint on the speech community, other speakers will use the terms without thinking about the viewpoint, and the term will become accepted as standard. All speakers do not have to agree for a particular form to get into the language, but at least a substantial portion of them must go along with the basic idea. For example, many phrases have found their way into American English even though they do not express unanimous viewpoints. *To gyp someone, to jew someone down, to go dutch, to be scotch,* and *to welsh on a deal,* obviously do not express the viewpoints of Gypsy, Jewish, Dutch, Scottish, and Welsh speakers, respectively. Nevertheless, the phrases came into the language because the majority of American speakers do not belong to these ethnic groups and did not stop to consider their viewpoints.

Examples of words expressing similar ideas in different languages show how one-sided or inaccurate such expressions can be. Early in the history of the United States, there was considerable disagreement and confusion between Native Americans and European settlers because the two groups had conflicting ideas about the ownership of land. Each side thought the other side cheated. The Native Americans said that the Europeans spoke with a *forked tongue*, while the Europeans began referring to anyone who went back on a deal as *an Indian giver*. When Americans are confused about something, they say, "It's Greek to me!" But when

the Germans are similarly confused, they say, "It's Spanish to me!" When French speakers are very blunt, they say they are speaking *a l'anglais* (in English), and when Americans swear, they sometimes excuse themselves by saying, "Pardon my French."

Another illustration of the majority or more powerful group of speakers imposing its viewpoint on language occurs with words related to left- and right-handedness. A relatively small percentage of people are born left-handed. This means the overwhelming majority of speakers are right-handed, and therefore around the world we would expect languages to present a favorable view of right-handedness and an unfavorable view of left-handedness. This is often the case.

The word *right* comes from Old English *riht*, which is cognate to Old High German *reht* and Latin *rectus*, meaning "straight or right," as in a right angle. It is from this word that we get *rectangle*. Right is also cognate with Latin *regere* meaning "to lead or rule," which is related to such modern English words as *righteous* and *upright*. These positive connotations are seen in such phrases as *right on! the right-of-way*, and *right-hand man*.

From the Greek word *dexios* meaning "situated on the right" come the English words *dexterity* and *dextrous*. Literally, a person who is *ambidextrous* is said to have two right hands. The first meaning that dictionaries give for *dexterity* is "skill and grace in physical activity," and the second meaning is, "mental skill or quickness." Notice how the meanings change from a physical reference to one that is only figuratively related. The modern English word *decent* is also cognate with *dexter*, and in the Biblical Book of Genesis there are nineteen positive references to being on the "right hand of God."

It isn't as though people get together and vote on what the language is going to be. Only in rare cases do people make conscious decisions about the superiority of one word or one usage over another. Instead such decisions are made subconsciously by millions of speakers. A trend such as the preference for *right* over *left* probably wouldn't even be noticeable in the speech of a small group because maybe only one or two instances would occur. But when the same thing happens over and over again in many small groups, then there is a cumulative effect and a trend can be seen throughout the language as a whole.

LANGUAGE IN RELATION TO AGING

Another example which reveals people's feelings toward a minority or less powerful group is the language as it relates to old people. However, this is somewhat different because all speakers know—or, considering the alternative, at least hope—that they will someday be old. This brings about a sense of discomfort which is reflected in gentle-sounding euphemisms on one side and outright disdain on the other. Included in the euphemisms are such terms as *seniors, senior citizens, golden age, mature woman,* and *elderly gentleman.* Disdainful terms include *little old lady, foolish old man, old bat, old duffer, old squaw,* and *old bum.* It is to counteract these kinds of negative connotations that developers work so hard to find pleasant sounding names for retirement communities: *Sun City, Leisure World, Green Valley,* and *Golden Hills.*

People's discomfort with old age is also shown through jokes—for example those based on General Douglas MacArthur's famous speech to Congress which, he ended by quoting the song, "Old soldiers never die; they just fade away." Modern paraphrases of this include:

Old truckers never die; they just go downhill.
Old teachers never die; they just lose their principals.
Old athletes never die; they just lose their supporters.
Old robbers never die; they just steal away.
Old blondes never fade; they just dye away.

If the above sentences were to be rewritten so that their referents were singular rather than plural, the results would probably be as follows:

An old trucker never dies; he just goes downhill.
An old teacher never dies; she just loses her principals.
An old athlete never dies; he just loses his supporters.
An old robber never dies; he just steals away.
An old blonde never fades; she just dyes away.

Transforming these sentences into the singular reveals two things. First, it shows that in English when using singular pronouns as opposed to plural ones, speakers must make a decision about the sex of the referent. This problem area of English will be discussed in the next section. The other thing it shows is that speakers have fairly clear ideas as to what the sex of the referent is according to the role being played. People mentally make such distinctions whether or not they are forced to by the grammar. In relation to old age, there are several places where this distinction is made clear in differing attitudes. Growing old is hard for people of either sex but is different for males and for females.

In the United States, social class—that is, people's prestige and importance in the culture—is judged mainly on the basis of their profession.* There is a relationship between this and the difference with which old men and old women are viewed. At least in white collar jobs, the popular image of a successful woman places her in her thirties, but successful men are pictured as being in their fifties. For example, the term *career woman* or *career girl* is most often illustrated by a picture of a fairly young and attractive woman who is smartly dressed striding jauntily down a big city street carrying a small "feminine" briefcase. English does not have the terms *career boy* or *career man*—probably because it is just assumed that all men have careers or jobs—but it does have the career related term *Chairman of the Board.* This term is usually illustrated by a picture of an elegant man with silvery hair who appears to be in late middle age. He is usually posed standing at the head of a conference table or behind a massive desk.

In one study[3] designed to see if women enjoy more prestige when they are young and men when they are old, informants were asked to list ten people they admired who were over fifty and ten people they admired who were under thirty. No mention was made of sex. Altogether, three times as many males as females were listed, but the results showed that it was easier for respondents to think of males over fifty than males under thirty. With females the result was the opposite. The female listings included very few really old women (Mae West, Kate Smith, and Bette Davis were the only ones). The male listings included several men who are, or were at the time of their deaths, over sixty—for example, Jack Benny, George Burns, Winston Churchill, Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, Dwight David Eisenhower, Robert Frost, Benjamin Franklin, W.C. Fields, J. Paul Getty, Barry Goldwater, Ernest Hemingway, Henry James, Groucho Marx, Pope Paul, Pablo Picasso, Arthur Rubinstein, George Bernard Shaw, Red Skelton, J.R.R. Tolkien, and

*With women—but seldom with men—this may be on the basis of the profession of their spouses or parents.

Lawrence Welk On the under-thirty list a much larger percentage of females were very young. The female cited by the most people was Marie Osmond, who was still in her teens. Other young females included Princess Caroline, Evonne Goolagong, Amy Carter, Liza Minnelli, Linda Blair, Nadia Comaneci, and Chris Evert.

Probably one of the reasons that there were so many more old men than old women whose names were mentioned is that the men were famous for a variety of roles. They were statesmen, artists, religious leaders, and writers, while most of the women were famous for being performers of some sort. When performing for the public—whether as an athlete, a singer, or an actress—a young and beautiful body is important. This is equally true for males and females; but a difference is that, with females, the area of physical appearance has been proportionately more important. Women are loved and admired because of their beauty. This can be either on a national or worldwide basis, as is the case with beauty queens, models, actresses, etc., or it can be on a local or family basis, where a girl's beauty may be the deciding factor as to whom she dates and eventually whom she marries.

With men, physical good looks are an asset, but only rarely is a man valued primarily for his looks. He is more apt to be respected and admired for such qualities as wisdom, experience, wealth, or fame, qualities which probably increase with age. A woman may be admired for these same qualities. Certainly Golda Meir was, but still, because she was a woman, people paid special attention to her physical appearance. When she died, even very brief newscasts included descriptions of her as "disarmingly homely," "hair strewn with gray," "a dumpy doughty lady with drab dresses," and someone who would wear "rumpled suits to formal dinners." It is unlikely that such emphasis on personal appearance would have been included in the obituaries of a male world leader.

When a man does become famous for his physical body, it is usually as an athlete rather than as a model or an actor. With athletes, just as with beauty queens, the peak of a career may come very early. It is a hard thing for a man in his twenties to become a *has-been*. A magazine article on the career of Olympic swimmer Mark Spitz asked the question, "Is Mark Spitz All Washed Up?" Another article referred to "the Joe Namath syndrome." To a greater or lesser extent this feeling of discouragement is experienced by all the men in the world who have based their self-esteem on their ability to do physical labor which becomes increasingly difficult with advancing age.

The fact that English-speakers have the phrase *dirty old man* but not *dirty old woman* shows two things. The first is that men are expected to have stronger interests in sex than women are. The second is that speakers have ambivalent feelings toward old men who are sexually active. On one hand, there is a grudging admiration for an old man who marries a young girl. There is even a term to describe such an event. It is called a *May-December wedding*. But on the other hand, there is a feeling that it is more or less unseemly for an old man to be interested in sex. That this is a debatable point of view is shown by the bumper sticker message, "I'm not a dirty old man; I'm a sexy senior citizen!"

Since women on the average live seven or eight years longer than men, it would seem that society would be less concerned about a woman's than a man's age, but the language does not show this to be true. Everyone knows it is a social faux pas to ask a woman her age. She's expected to tell a *white lie* if she is asked. As long ago as 1867, Mark Twain amused readers by writing that the whole argument about female suffrage was a waste of time since, "A woman would never vote because she would have to tell her age at the polls." A language usage which reflects women's desire to stay young is some women's preference for being called *girls*, as contrasted to the desire of males to be called *men* even when they are still children. According to sociolinguist Ken Johnson, black male teenagers often address each other as *man* ("Hey, man, what's happening?") while black female teenagers address each other as *girl* ("Girl, I been looking for you!"). This same division is seen in the larger culture where women's cosmetics are advertised under such names or slogans as *Cover Girl* and *The Breck Girl*. A firm which provides part-time or temporary workers was named *Kelly Girl* even though it makes a special effort to get older women to return to work after their children are raised. But because the company hires both males and females, the name has lately been changed to *Kelly Services* with *Kelly Girl*, *Marketing* and *Light Industrial* divisions.

Women referring to themselves as *girls* has an effect

similar to that of advertisements for health and grooming aids which feature mother-and-daughter look-alikes. These advertisements are wish fulfilling, with the idea being that the mother looks so young, so thin, so healthy, or so pretty that she will be mistaken for her daughter. The fact that advertisers have not made comparable ads featuring fathers and sons shows that they do not think a father would be flattered to be mistaken for his son.

Jocular references to being "one of the boys" or in "the old boys' club" are similar in tone to some of the casual usages in which women are referred to as *girls*. However, referring to women as *girls* is much more common than referring to men as *boys*, and many women resent the taking-for-granted of intimacy and the lack of respect that it reflects. They feel that it trivializes them, and is in ways comparable to the insulting manner in which white people used to call black men *boys* as a kind of negative put-down.

Animal metaphors relating to women but not to men are another indication of the different attitudes that society holds toward females in relation to age. The following terms show how related metaphors are positive for young females and negative for older females.

POSITIVE CONNOTATIONS (Both the source and the referent are young)	NEGATIVE CONNOTATIONS (Both the source and the referent are old)
bird	old crow
lamb	old crone (from ONF *carogne:* an old ewe)
kittenish	catty
kitty	cat
filly	old nag

The extended metaphor given below shows the same kind of progression from positive feelings when the referent is young to negative feelings when the referent is old.

> First a girl is a *chick*. Then she gets married and begins feeling *cooped up*. She has her *brood* and goes to *hen parties* where she *cackles* with her friends. Finally, when her children *leave the nest*, she *henpecks* her husband and turns into an *old biddy*.

When viewed in this context, *chick* does not seem like a very positive metaphor, but there are people who think they are complimenting a female by calling her a chick. But hardly anyone thinks a boy or man is being complimented when he is labelled *chicken*. The insulting nature of this term is another illustration of how men also suffer from strict role expectations.

THE PRONOUN PROBLEM

As was shown with the "Old Soldiers . . ." jokes, when English speakers want to use a pronoun to refer to a single person rather than to a group, they have to make a decision about the sex of the referent. This is because **the third-person-singular pronouns are marked for sex when they refer to people. The other pronouns—*I, you, we, they, me, us, their(s)* and *them*—can refer to people of either sex, but *he, his,* and *him* as opposed to *she, hers,* and *her* are sex-specific words. It is a defect in English that there is no pronoun of this kind to be used when the sex of the referent is unknown. This causes a problem in sentences like the following where a blank has been left. The singular pronoun *it* does not carry a marker of sex, but it would not be acceptable in the blank spaces** because *it* is reserved for nonliving things such as the weather, a rock, a river, a philosophy, or an idea.

1. When a teenager applies for a job, _____ is often judged on physical appearance.
2. The attorney forgot _____ briefcase.
3. That teacher has been fired, hasn't _____?
4. Cris came, but not _____ friend.
5. After Pat's cousin phoned, _____ was here in ten minutes.

Such sentences frequently occur. People find themselves talking about strangers whose sex they do not know, especially in relation to services being performed or roles being filled which used to be sex-typed. For example, when referring to people in such roles as nurse, teacher, secretary, telephone operator, housekeeper, typist, and librarian, speakers used to be able to choose feminine pronouns correctly because these positions were filled almost exclusively by women. Similarly, they could confidently use *he, his,* or *him* when referring to people filling such roles as doctor, lawyer, president, senator, officer, garbage collector, janitor, and soldier because these roles were nearly always filled by men. But today both sexes are beginning to fill both roles so the problem of what pronoun to use has increased in speech and writing.

A similar problem occurs when indefinite pronouns are used. These words are common in both speech and writing. They include *everybody, everyone, anybody, anyone, somebody, someone, nobody,* and *no one,* as in the following sentences:

1. Everybody came to the reunion, didn't _____?
2. Everyone got inside before it rained, didn't _____?
3. Anybody could do it, couldn't _____?
4. Anyone born after 1950 can apply, can't _____?
5. Somebody left books on the table, didn't _____?
6. Someone forgot to respond, didn't _____?
7. Nobody knew that she was pregnant, did _____?
8. No one can get through after sundown, can _____?

Most people would feel comfortable, at least in informal speech, filling in the above blanks with *they,* for example, "Anyone born after 1950 can apply, can't they?" People who would choose to be more formal and use *he* are probably people who were good students in high school and college English classes where they were taught the rule that most indefinite pronouns are singular and therefore require a singular pronoun. This rule was established in previous centuries when grammarians were working to standardize English. In Chaucer's time and even in Shakespeare's time, there was a great deal of freedom in the way language was spoken and written. But the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century made books widely available; in the following centuries it became clear that some kind of standardization was necesary. It was good business for a printer to make books that would be acceptable to people in a wide geographical area. Britain had colonies all over the world, and English printers wanted to sell their books in all of these colonies. This made them anxious to agree on rules of spelling and grammar. The people who were interested in rule-making were nearly all males. The writers, printers and publishers were mostly men. It was men who traveled and studied other languages and who came home and wrote textbooks, grammars, and dictionaries. When it became necessary to make a decision as to whether a masculine or a feminine pronoun should be used, as with the indefinite pronouns, they chose a masculine pronoun. They were not intentionally slighting women, but were speaking ethnocentrically, which, as the examples in this section have shown, happens over and over again with all kinds of people in all kinds of situations.

In a picture book, *Some Swell Pup*, which teaches children how to take care of a new pet, the authors, Maurice Sendak and Matthew Margolis, used this kind of ethnocentricity to make a point about changing attitudes.

A boy and a girl get a new puppy. When the boy likes the puppy he calls it "Nice Boy" and refers to it with masculine pronouns. When the girl is happy with the puppy, she calls it "Nice girl" and refers to it with feminine pronouns. But as soon as they get angry because it chews up something or has a toilet accident, they switch. The girl uses masculine pronouns and the boy uses feminine pronouns. **This is an illustration of how males will probably be more inclined to use masculine pronouns, while females will probably be more inclined to use feminine pronouns.**

The same thing was shown in a study done at the University of Iowa.[4] The researcher was trying to see what pronouns children used in their everyday speech. One hundred children (50 boys and 50 girls of matching ages, five through ten) were asked to complete sentences with tag questions of either "wasn't he?" or

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"wasn't she?" There were twelve sentences. Four of them described activities that are typically thought of as feminine, four sentences described activities typically thought of as masculine, while the remaining four described things that children of either sex would be doing. It was the last four sentences which showed a difference in the pronouns used by the boys and the girls. They were:

The child was eating lunch . . .
The child was watching TV . . .
The child was talking . . .
The child was wearing new shoes . . .

In completing these sentences, the fifty boys used three masculine pronouns for every two feminine pronouns. The fifty girls were exactly the opposite. They used three feminine pronouns for every two masculine pronouns.

These two examples indicate that both females and males feel a stronger attachment to pronouns referring to their own sex than to those referring to the opposite sex. But it is really impossible to measure the extent of the preference, because by the time speakers have learned English they have already been conditioned to hearing nearly all animals and people of undetermined sex referred to with masculine pronouns. People worry about what this does to the self-concept of girls who are too young to understand that it is simply a convention of grammar. They wonder if girls get the idea that to be male is to be normal and that being female is being different, sort of like being a sub-species. But Bruce C. Appleby, an English professor at Southern Illinois University, says that the psychological damage of the pseudo-generics is not restricted to girls. "The young male starts learning through the pseudo-generics that he is *supposed* to be better than women because he's the model — and he better start living up to that image. He learns that whether or not he wants to, he's supposed to be in charge, Number One, and on top!" Appleby says that for boys this is just as unfair as is the feeling for girls of being ignored or left out.

What English needs is a pronoun of common gender. Speakers simply can't hear either feminine or masculine pronouns without mentally picturing either females or males. Because feminine pronouns are used less often they are even more likely than masculine pronouns to make hearers think exclusively of one sex and to think that the sender of the message had a particular reason for referring to females. For example, there is a public service radio announcement which in cautioning teenagers against shoplifting uses only feminine pronouns. In reality, probably more than half of teenage shoplifters are girls and this is why the feminine pronoun was used. But it is unfortunate that English-speakers are always forced to choose between masculine and feminine pronouns because as soon as either males or females play a particular role a majority of the time, then people start using the respective masculine or feminine pronoun one hundred percent of the time. There is a circular effect. The more people hear a certain pronoun used with a certain role, the more convinced they become that that's how it is and so they accept and promote the idea.

This whole thing works against men in relation to anti-social behavior. For her Ph.D. dissertation, H. Lee Gershuny did a study of the way words are defined in dictionaries. She found that when sample sentences were given to illustrate such negative terms as *villain, robber, punk, criminal, gangster, extortionist, creep, convict,* and *hoodlum,* masculine pronouns were nearly always used. The idea that males are criminals in society probably fits most people's mental image. A Guindon **cartoon in the *Los Angeles Times* was funny because it** upset people's stereotyped idea that all the "bad guys" are males A middle-aged woman wearing a head scarf and carrying a shopping bag is standing at the counter of a bank. The teller is saying to her, "You're my very first lady bank robber . . . excuse me, which do you prefer, lady bank robber? woman bank robber? robber person?"

THE PROBLEM WITH MAN

The use of *man* and other masculine sounding words to refer to humans of both sexes presents a problem similar to the one caused by generic pronouns. Long ago when *man*, spelled *mann* or *monn*, was first used in English it did mean human as opposed to animal. In Miller and Swift's book, *Words and Women*, they illustrate the old usage with three quotes. Aelfric, the Anglo-Saxon scholar wrote in about the year 1000, "His mother was a Christian, named Elen, a very full-of-faith man, and extremely pious." And from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Miller and Swift quote a description of a husband and wife written in 1325 as "right rich men" and a 1597 sermon about the Garden of Eden in which it was stated that, "The Lord had but one pair of men in Paradise."

But what has happened through history is that *man* has come to be used so much to mean male exclusive of female that today true confusion occurs. Some people argue that there are really two words: *man* meaning *human* and *man* meaning *male*. They just happen to be written and pronounced the same. It is common in English to have such homonyms, for example, *bat* meaning "a stick used to hit a ball," and *bat* meaning "a small furry mammal with wings." Usually with such homonyms the context in which they are used makes the meaning clear, but this isn't the case with the word *man*. Because the two meanings are so close and one meaning is incorporated in the other, there is a special problem. And just as with the generic pronoun, women are constantly having to ask themselves if they are included. The meaning may not come through immediately. For example, several women readers have cited a sentence in one of Erich Fromm's essays as being psychologically jarring. Throughout his writing, Fromm relies on the word *man*, which most readers interpret as meaning all humans, but then Fromm describes the "vital interests" of *man* as "life, food, and access to females." On reading this, women readers suddenly felt left out and began to wonder if all of Fromm's statements and observations applied only to males and not to them.

The word *man* receives the most attention as a generic noun, but there are dozens of other common words which include some sort of a masculine affix so that they too can cause confusion. A writer may use one of these words to mean both males and females, but the reader may think of males only, or vice-versa.

The usual semantic areas in which this kind of masculine-sounding word is used are those areas of life in which males have historically had the most influence. Men were the ones active in a particular field, and so naturally they were the ones who were writing and talking about it. It was almost automatic that they selected words which referred to males. For example, it was not until 1920 that women were allowed to vote in the United States, so quite naturally the language of American political life—its government, courts, and laws—was couched in male-oriented terms. When the "Founding Fathers" signed the Declaration of Independence with the famous clause, "All men are created equal," they were not using the term *men* generically; they were thinking only of white male property holders. The concept of "the reasonable man" is at the center of American law. In government, people often talk about *councilmen, congressmen, chairmen, city fathers, favorite-son candidates*, and *gentlemen's agreements*. An old saying is that "Politics makes for strange bedfellows."

Higher education was primarily a masculine endeavor until the mid 1800s, when women were first allowed to attend public colleges and universities. The language shows this male orientation through such words as:

freshman	upperclassman	Bachelor's degree
underclassman	fellowship	Master's degree

Sports is another area that has historically been male-dominated, as shown in such terms as *sportsman, sportsmanship, baseman, man on third*, etc. This is one of the few semantic areas in which males have the dominant role even in childhood, as shown by such terms as *ball boy, bat boy* and *water boy*.

A cliche in the language is that "Woman's place is in the home." By contrast, this implies that "Man's place is outside the home," earning the living for the family. Hundreds of terms for occupations reflect this expectation. These words vary from such cover terms as *workmen's compensation, craftsmanship, manmade*, and *manpower* to such specific terms as *spaceman, milkman, foreman*, and *garbageman*. The masculine dominance of public communication is shown through the following terms connected with newspaper and television journalism:

paperboy	rewriteman	deskman	soundman
copyboy	newsman	anchorman	weatherman

CONCLUSION

The last lesson showed how a language reflects the values of its speakers. But in any group, there are many different values and ideas. The language cannot reflect all of these, especially since many of them are contradictory. What happens then is that the standard language, which is the form that gets into dictionaries and books and on television and radio, reflects the values of the most powerful groups in a society.

Historically, males have been the more powerful group, and the English language reflects this in some of its most basic parts—for example, the pronoun system in which masculine, but not feminine, pronouns are used to refer to people of both sexes. There are many other examples of ways in which the language specifically refers to males and only by implication to females. This was not an intentional slight on anyone's part. No one needs to feel guilty. The language developed in this way because of the ethnocentric nature of those people who were writing down the language and who were in positions of linguistic influence. In general, the language dealing with particular semantic areas will reflect positively on those people who had the most real-life control in that area. A later lesson will show that our language changes along with changes in the culture, but that there is a time lag. The basic structure of English reflects the culture of its speakers more than a thousand years ago.

COMMENTS FROM OTHER STUDENTS

a. Judging from what I know about real life and people, girls think and talk about boys as much as, or maybe even more than, boys think and talk about girls. Yet in mass media messages aimed at general audiences there is a lot more emphasis put on women as love or sex objects than on men as such. I'll bet it is because men are the ones coming up with the ideas of what will make appealing advertisements or attractive illustrations.

b. One of those little fillers in the newspaper this week said, "All men are created equal, but necklines, waistlines, and hemlines show that women are not." I guess part of the joke is that when you read the first phrase you are supposed to think that it was referring only to males. There wouldn't have been a joke if *men* couldn't have been interpreted either way. Another thing the joke shows is how much more important our culture considers the physical appearance of women. Men also have necklines and waistlines, but we almost never talk about them.

c. The trouble with women is they won't face reality. The reason language treats men and women different is simple. They are different. We say that "women look up to men" because they do—men are usually taller than women. And women are called "the weaker sex" because men are stronger than they are. My brother works in the mines, and now they have to take women in the mines. Women can't do the heavy work so men have to do it for them. How can women be expected to be treated like men and get the same pay and everything when they can't really do the job?

d. I'm a boy and so all the generic terms like *paperboy, ball boy,* and *caveman* don't bother me. In fact, it never even occurred to me that there was anything inaccurate or unfair about them, but I do remember being irritated when I was in grade school by the fact that I still had to have a *baby-sitter.* I wasn't a baby and I didn't like people to use a word that defined me inaccurately.

e. In a children's literature class we talked about an example of communication affected by point of view. Some people did studies of illustrations in children's school books and found that when artists draw pictures of children, ninety percent of the time they make the boys bigger than the girls. In real life it is apt to be the other way around because girls grow faster than boys. However, the artists are adults, and they think from an adult viewpoint where males are apt to be bigger than females, and so that is how they picture the children. This reinforces the idea that boys *should* be taller than girls, which is a problem in high school where a boy is embarrassed to ask a girl on a date if she is taller than he is. That's probably one of the reasons that built-up shoes for guys have become popular.

f. My only criticism is that if we blend everything into a unisex meaning, we could lose the differences that do exist. Everyone wants to have their own identity. But if we make our language so that it limits the possibilities for expressing individual identity by not even specifying male or female, then why are we striving for individuality?

g. I examined the textbook *Sociology and Social Issue.* In the chapter entitled "Race, Sex and Society," only plural pronouns were used in all places, except those referring directly to a researcher or a study. The author carefully eliminated singular pronouns so as to show no sexist bias. But the chapter entitled "Deviant Behavior" presented a different view. The author used the masculine pronoun in all cases. This shows a bias suggesting that males are more troublesome or as they term it, "deviant." Does this suggest that all females are prim and proper while all males break the norms of society?

FIELD WORK, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

1. The words and phrases that are not in a language tell almost as much about the values of a group of people as do the words and phrases that are commonly used. With the following terms, the ones on the left are in the language, but the similar ones on the right are not. First try to figure out with each set why one exists and the other does not, and then put the evidence together to explain what the two columns show about cultural values and expectations.

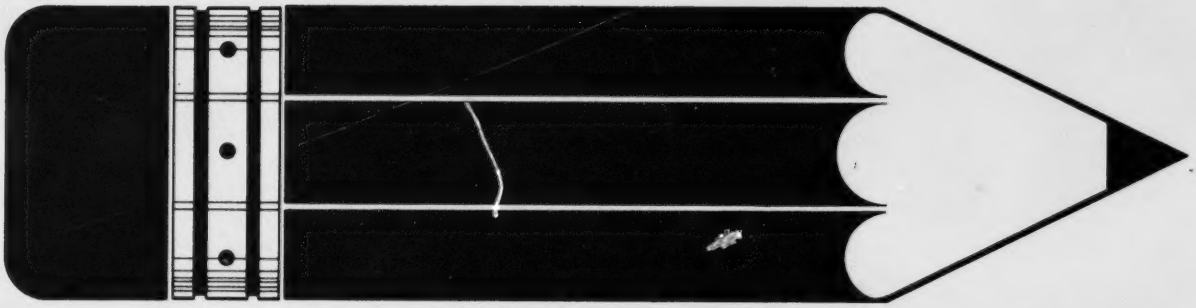
COMMON PHRASES IN THE LANGUAGE	MATCHING PHRASES NOT IN THE LANGUAGE
old wives' tales	old husbands' tales
grandfatherly advice	grandmotherly advice
the king's wise men	the queen's wise women
the town fathers	the town mothers
a patriarchal blessing	a matriarchal blessing
man's man	woman's woman
housewife	househusband
fishwife	fishhusband

2. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, Eighth Edition, gives as one of its definitions for *mother* "an old or elderly woman." In the same position under the definition of *father*, it says, "an old man—used as a respectful form of address." Do you think that the dictionary editors were imposing their own viewpoint or were they just recording the difference in the way the terms are used when they said that *father* but not *mother* was a "respectful form of address" for an elderly person? Check some other dictionaries to see if the treatment is the same. If you were a dictionary editor, what would you do? Give the reasons for your decision.
3. From one of your textbooks—a history or other social studies text or a "how-to" book—choose a page that talks about people of both sexes. First, go through and circle the pronouns. You might use one color for masculine pronouns and another for feminine ones. Then count and see whether there are more masculine than feminine pronouns. One computerized analysis found that in elementary school textbooks, *he* appeared three times as often as *she*. How might this affect boys' perceptions of the material? How might it affect girls' perceptions? How might it affect the way the artists illustrate the text?
4. Two sociology professors, Joseph W. Schneider and Sally L. Hacker, report a study in which they gave chapter titles for a sociology textbook to various groups of college students. They asked the students to bring in pictures and cartoons which might be appropriately used for illustrations. Some of the students were given titles containing the word *man*, for example, "Man's Need for Friends," while other students had titles that used the word *people*, "People's Need for Friends." The students with the word *man* in their chapter titles brought in significantly more pictures of males than did the students whose chapters were about *people*. This led the researchers to hypothesize that because the word *man* most often means *male*, it triggers people to think primarily of males and then only secondarily, if at all, of females. Do you agree? If so, what should textbook writers do about it? How else might this hypothesis be checked out?
5. Make two lists from the masculine-sounding words given in "The Problem with Man" on page 26. In one list put the words that you could use comfortably to refer to both males and females. In the second list put the words that you would most likely use only for males. Compare your list with others in the class. Is there disagreement? If so, what words might be misunderstood? What might happen as a result of such misunderstanding?
6. Explain the implications of the line in the song "Desiré" which goes, "I was made a man by a girl twice my age."

COMPOSITION

Write an essay based on one of the following ideas:

1. Choose one of the analysis problems given on page 29. Collect and analyze more data than the class as a whole had time to go into. Write a report explaining your data and the conclusions that you reached.
2. Take a survey similar to the one described in the section on language in relation to old people. Ask your friends to name ten people over fifty and ten people under thirty that they admire. Compare the numbers of males and females, the reasons that they are admired, and which age group they fall into. You might also note whether there is a correlation between the sex of the people responding to your survey and the names they give you—that is, do boys give you more names of men, while girls give you more names of women? Write up the results of your survey, hypothesizing about the reasons for whatever differences you find.
3. Many people are in favor of using *man* only when it refers to males. Make a case either for or against this idea.
4. Using one of the "Comments from Other Students" as a basis, write an essay in which you either extend the idea that the student was getting at or present an opposing view.



LINGUISTIC PRINCIPLE • 3
EXAGGERATION IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS

From this lesson, you should learn:

1. How symbolic language results in a kind of exaggeration.
2. What is meant by the semantic features of words.
3. How metaphors and similes are based on semantic features.
4. How communication acts contain underlying assumptions or presuppositions.

It doesn't take an especially skilled observer of language to notice that speakers exaggerate. One of the problems which teachers fight against is the habit people have of carelessly using such terms as *always, never, every,* and *all.* For example, the following sentence seems to fit right into this paragraph, but notice that it contains not two, but three exaggerations:

> Every day you hear people make such comments as, "I'm so hungry I could die!" and "I'm dead tired!"

It is true that you might *often* hear such statements, but probably not *every* day. The use of *every* is an exaggeration for emphasis, just as the exaggerations in the statements below are for emphasis.

> My shoes are killing me.
> It's cold as ice in this room.
> It's hot as blazes today.
> She's dirty as a pig.
> That child is ugly as a mud fence.
> He's tongue-tied.
> I'm speechless.

The above statements are not literally true. Most of them are either metaphors or similes, and the listener recognizes them as such. They express ideas which are difficult to express as literal truth. It is when people are trying to express such ideas that they are forced to borrow concepts that only partially fit. These borrowed concepts often result in oversimplification or overgeneralization. For example, it is extremely difficult to describe the color of a person's skin. If you examine any individual's skin, you will see reflections of blues, yellows, pinks, purples, and browns, as well as the so-called flesh tones. If a single individual's skin is made up of a multitude of tones, then think how many more colors may be represented in any group of people. Yet in language, speakers oversimplify and exaggerate the tendency toward particular tones. For example, they talk about Asians as the *yellow race,* Caucasians as the *white race,* Negroid peoples as the *black race,* and Native Americans as the *red race.* These are not meant to be taken literally as accurate descriptions. Instead they are overgeneralizations.

In the United States, people are particularly accustomed to accepting exaggeration. It is perhaps a leftover from frontier days when settlers were faced with tasks that seemed bigger than they could possibly cope with. What they did was to combine wish fulfillment with exaggeration and dream up helpful work heroes who were bigger than life. The cowboys had Pecos Bill and Slue Foot Sue, the lumberjacks had Paul Bunyan, the railroad builders had John Henry, the sailors had Old Stormalong, the Mississippi River boatmen had Steamboat Bill, and the train engineers had Casey Jones. Today advertisers provide a similar kind of wish fulfillment through exaggerations in such phrases as *unsurpassed value, the finest the world has ever known, absolutely unforgettable,* and *totally fantastic.* No one really believes a dancing school that promises "Instant-Dancing: All you need are your feet" or a store that promises to "blast rising prices" with "Sunday, Monday Bombshells," yet some portion of the idea sticks in the consumer's mind. The exaggerations, though neither logical nor true, still communicate something, and if the advertisements are successful, they move the readers and listeners a little closer to believing them. They are like the description in American folklore of the winter of '02 when "it was so cold that the cows gave ice cream." Listeners are not convinced by the statement that the cows gave ice cream, but they are convinced that the winter of '02 was pretty cold.

A large portion of the exaggerations which we meet in everyday life are in the forms of similes and metaphors. When a metaphor or a simile is first created, it is usually based on a similarity between one semantic feature or characteristic of the referent and a similar feature of the source. Individual words have semantic features which are the different aspects of their meanings. For example, when you talk about a dog, you know you are talking about something that is concrete rather than abstract. It is living rather than nonliving, and it is an animal rather than a human. If you should further identify the dog as one particular animal, then there would be many more semantic features such as size,

color, breed, sex, age, proper name, and disposition.

If two things had all of their semantic features in common, they would be the same things, rather than two things which could be compared. Metaphors are usually based on distinctive or noticeable semantic features, but since almost any item people talk about has several such features, there can be several different metaphors taken from the same item. For example, when the stock market takes *a nose dive*, the metaphor is based on the fact that a nose is usually the first part of the body to arrive. This also relates to horse racing, in which an animal can *win by a nose*, or by further extension, to an election or any close race. A *nose cone* on a rocket is probably also related to this idea of being out in front, as well as to the similarity of shape. What the *nosing* on a stair step has in common with a human or animal nose is its rounded and protruding shape. Whatever the semantic feature is that two items have in common, then this is the semantic feature being emphasized. When metaphors or similes are created, a kind of exaggeration takes place because all the attention is focused upon the single common semantic feature of the two items.

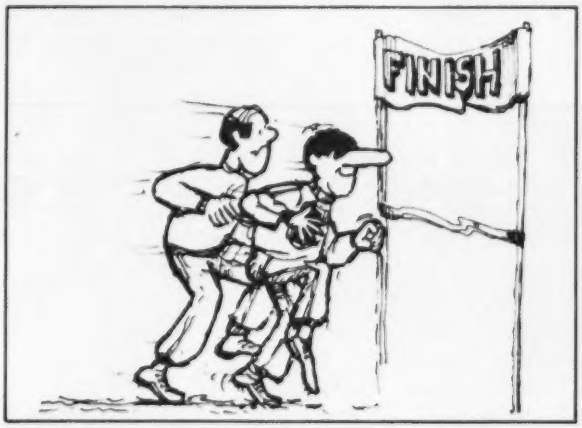
Symbols develop in much the same way as metaphors. In fact, a symbol is a form of metaphor. However, a symbol is usually more involved and has as its referent something abstract. Symbols can be created either with words, with pictures, or with actual objects. What happens with a symbol is that when the eyes and/or the ears receive a particular set of images, then the mind makes a transfer and thinks of something else. Every society has symbols, especially to refer to nontangible concepts. These symbols are taught to children through the language they learn, the stories they hear, the action of people around them, the books they read, and the television programs they watch. Learning the symbols of a culture is somewhat different from learning the vocabulary because people cannot go to a dictionary and look up cultural symbols. Symbols may be very subtle, and they are usually learned at a level out of people's conscious awareness.

The last lesson showed how particular language usages have grown out of the fact that in every culture it is only a small minority of people who are left-handed. The same thing has happened, only on a much larger scale, out of the universal fact that people are born either male or female. This one obvious division between people is the basis for many kinds of symbolic communication.

One evidence of how deep-seated this division is in people's psyches is the large number of languages in the world which give words masculine or feminine gender. In such languages as Spanish and French, every noun has to be assigned either masculine or feminine gender. Early English grammarians, anxious to make English either like language with masculine and feminine gender or like languages—such as Latin and German—with masculine, feminine, and neuter genders, tried to divide English nouns into such categories. For example, in 1784 John Fell wrote in *An Essay Towards an English Grammar:*

> The passions must be determined according to their different natures: the fiercer and most disagreeable are masculine—the softer and more amiable are feminine. *Mind* is masculine, *soul* feminine; for in the latter term more of the affections are frequently implied than in the former. The *sun* is masculine, the *moon* feminine, the *Heaven* neuter—the *earth* is feminine; mountains and rivers are commonly masculine; countries and cities are feminine—and *nature*, as comprehending all, is feminine.

This quote shows some of the cultural beliefs that people have long associated with the two sexes. Because males and females do have some distinctive physical differences, there seems to be a tendency to exaggerate these differences so that masculine and feminine qualities are at extreme ends of a scale. With young children especially there is little difference between the bodies of males and females, yet cultural norms dictate all kinds of things which serve to increase the differences between males and females: girl babies should wear pink, boy babies should wear blue; females should have long hair, males should have short hair; females should wear clothes which reveal their bodies, males should not; female clothing should lap right side over left, male clothing should lap left side over right; females should wear make-up, males should not.



METAPHORS AND SYMBOLIZATION

It is interesting to examine metaphors and to try to figure out the semantic features on which they are based. When either the source of a metaphor (the item from which it is taken) or the referent of a metaphor (the item to which it refers) is linked exclusively to one sex or the other, the metaphor reveals the attitudes of the speakers who created and who continue to use it. For example, whoever created the metaphor *Father Time* had some reasons for thinking of time as masculine rather than as feminine. Probably time is symbolically thought of as a reaper, or harvester, and this is typically a man's job requiring physical strength. Metaphors connoting strength and courage nearly always apply only to men — *man of steel, iron-handed, muscle man, wild bull, lion-hearted, blood and guts.* Another example is the phrase *mother tongue*, meaning someone's native language. Probably people say *mother tongue* rather than *father tongue* because young children typically have a closer relationship with their mothers than their fathers, so it is their mother's language they learn to speak. The educated and correct speech of the more powerful class, however, is called the *King's English* probably to link it with the prestige of royalty.

When it is the referent that is sex-linked, it is not always clearly marked, but speakers nevertheless are careful to use the metaphor only with one sex. For example, some metaphors compare people to plants. Either a male or female can be a *late bloomer* or a *budding genius*, but *clinging vine, shrinking violet*, and *wallflower* are terms generally applied to females. If a man is called a *pansy*, it is usually insulting; he is being criticized for not playing the proper masculine role.

In trying to figure out why it is more acceptable to refer to females than to males as small plants and flowers, the semantic features that come to mind are that flowers are small, passive, and pretty, and this is what females are also expected to be. Notice that in the two flower metaphors which can be used positively with males, the plant is doing the most active thing that a plant can do. It is *budding* or *blooming*. It may be this same semantic feature of passivity that makes it more acceptable to refer to women than to men as items of food. For example, a woman may be referred to as a *cookie*, a *dish* (in the old sense of a dish of food), *cheesecake, sugar and spice, a cute tomato, sweetie pie*, and *honey*. Only the last term, *honey*, is used positively with men and then only in the context of a certain relationship.

Sometimes the whole idea of maleness and femaleness is used as the basis for an extended metaphor as in the following piece written for the purpose of amusing readers. But notice how the qualities that are ascribed to women are really qualities that belong to males as well as females. The humor comes from the playful way in which the furnace is personified.

MY LADY THE FURNACE

The boast of American civilization is central heating, and central heating means a furnace. Furnaces, with their gauges and dials and drafts and dampers and pipes running here and there, give the impression of being exact, scientific machines. As a matter of fact, it takes very little acquaintance with furnaces to realize that they are exceedingly human and possessed of no end of temperament.

A furnace should be spoken of as "she" for its traits are distinctly feminine. Like a woman, a furnace requires constant attention and prefers to be handled by a man. Like a woman, a furnace has moods of warmth and coldness. When a furnace misbehaves, a good shaking usually brings results. When furnaces get overheated, it is a good thing to let them blow off steam to avoid an explosion. Furnaces have a marked inclination to go out, but most people agree that their place is in the home. They suffer from neglect, and they cost a lot of money for upkeep.

Furnaces enjoy a long summer vacation. When properly treated, they are capable of irradiating warmth throughout the home. But their glow subsides when a damper is put upon them. They are sensitive to the surrounding atmosphere. When it is warm, they are warm; when it is cold, they grow discouraged. Many furnaces, by the way, are in the habit of making hot water for other people to get into.

When a man is wedded to a furnace, he finds divorce a difficult problem for a furnace is a jealous mistress. But there is one instance in which a furnace is unlike a woman. When the day of reckoning comes, it is the man and not the furnace who pays.

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Baltimore *Daily Sun*

PRESUPPOSITIONS ABOUT FEMALES AND MALES

These different expectations run much deeper than mere appearance. They are sometimes revealed by special terms that have been created to mark something unexpected. For example, English-speakers talk about a *family man*, but not a *family woman*. The term *family man* is in the language to identify or draw attention to a category of men—those inclined to lead a domestic life. In reality most modern men fit the definition of *family man*, but the term probably was developed during the days of the western frontier when many men were away from their homes being trappers, explorers, hunters, and cattlemen. Since the women stayed at home with their families, there was no need for creating a special word to identify a *family woman*. A comparable set of terms mentioned in the last section is *career woman* and *career man*. The language has the first term but not the latter because it is assumed that men will have careers, while it is thought to be unusual or at least noteworthy for a woman to be professionally employed. In a similar way the terms *male nurse* and *woman doctor* identify people doing jobs unexpected of their sex. Such words as *authoress, poetess, conductress*, and *sculptress* also seem to have been created to draw attention to the sex of the people filling these roles.

Words such as *nurse* and *conductor* contain presuppositions about the sex of the referent. These presuppositions are underlying assumptions that both the speaker and the listener take for granted. Presuppositions are hidden—as old information—in both words and sentences. Because they are assumed to be true, they do not appear "up front" as new information so that listeners would be more apt to examine them or weigh their logic. In the illustrations that follow, you will see that even though presuppositions are more or less hidden, they still communicate a great deal of information.

One of the most interesting illustrations of a presupposition is the difference generally communicated by the two similar phrases, *to mother a child* and *to father a child*. The idea of taking care of children is so closely tied to mothers that the first phrase is most commonly interpreted as taking care of a child—that is, giving it tender loving care for a lifetime—while the second phrase is usually interpreted as referring to the biological act of *fathering* or *siring* a child.

One dictionary gives a meaning for *mother* but not for *father*, "acting as or providing parental stock—used without reference to sex." This is an example of using a feminine word in a generic sense—which is not done very often. *Mother*, because it names such an important role, has developed metaphorical meanings. The importance of motherhood is also shown in the fact that Mother's Day is a more important holiday than Father's Day. For the female holiday, more cards and presents are purchased, more long-distance phone calls are made, and more feature articles and human interest stories are written for newspapers and magazines. Judging by the toys they are given to play with, little girls are raised to be mothers much more openly than little boys are to be fathers, even though there is a one-to-one correlation. Whenever a woman becomes a mother, a man becomes a father, but the emphasis is not the same.

A practice that would seem to contradict the high prestige given to the role of motherhood is the way kids, especially in black communities, tease each other by saying such things as:

"Ah, your mamma rides a Harley Davidson!"

But it is because mothers are so important that kids use this kind of insult to get at each other. It is common for people who want to tease someone to make insulting remarks about something that the person has and likes. For example, teasers refer to their friend's new car as a "a bomb" or they call someone who gets good grades "an egghead."

People generally use language in such a way that it lends prestige to women when talking about family relations. But they use it to lend prestige to men over a much broader spectrum. Judging from the language, simply being male is to enjoy a kind of prestige. The word *man* has many positive connotations associated with it, similar to the way *right* has more positive connotations than *left*. *Man* has picked up extra meanings besides the idea of maleness; otherwise, the following statements would not make sense, because they are just saying that a person is male:

He's so manly!
He's a real he-man!
He's a virile man!

The word *virile* comes from the Latin word *vir*, meaning *man*. When parents tell their son to "Be a man!" they are telling him to be honorable, skilled, upright, and noble, and to have whatever other qualities that they deem important.

It was these qualities which Israeli Premier David Ben-Gurion was talking about when he said that Golda Meir was "the only man" in his Cabinet. It is also these qualities that are being referred to in the one-liner, "You'll never be the man your mother was!"

These positive connotations of the word *man* are further shown in such military recruitment slogans as:

The Marine Corps builds men!

and

Join the Army! Become a man!

This emphasis on the positive connotations of *manliness* has caused interesting problems for the Armed Forces, especially now that women too are being recruited. While the traditional men's roles were glorified in organizations that were all-male or predominantly male, the opposite happened to women's roles; they were often spoken of disparagingly. However, in any organization as big as an army, there is a need for the kind of work to be done that has been traditionally thought of as the lower-prestige "women's work." What the Armed Forces did to get this work accomplished and yet not insult anyone's "masculinity" was to change the names of the jobs as listed below. (Notice how the words to the left sound more feminine and in most cases less prestigious than the words to the right.)

TRADITIONAL TITLES — JOBS USUALLY HELD BY WOMEN	ARMED FORCES TITLES — JOBS USUALLY HELD BY MEN
waitress	orderly
nurse	medic or corpsman
secretary	clerk-typist
assistant	adjutant
dishwasher or kitchen helper	KP (kitchen police)
to be a maid or general cleaner	to police an area

Before leaving this section, it should be mentioned that similar to the way that many women in the United States are questioning the roles they have been assigned by society, thousands of men are also questioning the kinds of presuppositions that underlie the language usages listed here. They argue that such words as *he-man* are insulting, not complimentary, and they are doing all they can to change people's assumptions that for someone to be *manly*, he must be tough and unfeeling.

EXAGGERATION FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES

Economics is a powerful force, especially in a capitalistic or competitive society such as the American one. In such a system, it is important that people keep buying products and that money keeps changing hands. One way to encourage this kind of business is to promote differences between males and females. An obvious example is the family whose first child is a boy. They go out and buy all blue baby clothes and "masculine" plain wood baby furniture. Two years later, they have another baby. This one is a girl and so rather than using the still good baby clothes and furniture, they go out and buy pink clothes with ruffles and lace and "feminine" white and gold or pastel-painted baby furniture.

Another way that exaggerating male and female differences helps business is in providing advertisers with material of which they can make use. Many companies manufacture products that are very much alike. The success of one company over another may depend not so much on the quality of the product as on the success of its advertising. It is flattering to people to feel that someone has done something especially for them, but obviously manufacturers cannot custom-make their products for each individual. And even the cleverest advertiser could not hope to convince 100 million potential consumers that a bar of soap or a tube of toothpaste was created with only one person in mind. A compromise that manufacturers came up with was to make dual products—some for males and some for females and then to promote the "uniqueness" of these products. Knowing that something was made at least for people of their own sex makes potential buyers feel catered to and in the mood to accept such claims as:

> Lets you be the woman you are!
> It's all man!
> There's a little bit of Eve in every woman.
> You've come a long way, baby.
> Enliven your manly moments with our gorgeous calendar.
> The "One of a Kind" man.
> If you want him to be more of a man, be more of a woman!

The more specialized products a company has on the market, the greater is the chance for capturing a bigger part of the total market. So instead of making one brand of soap and trying to sell it to everyone, Proctor and Gamble, for example, makes Coast Deodorant Soap, Safeguard Mild Deodorant Soap, Lava: The Hand Soap, Ivory Bath and Complexion Bar, Camay Beauty Soap, and Zest Deodorant Beauty Soap. Colgate-Palmolive makes Dermassage Moisture Bar for Dry Skin, Irish Spring: A Manly Deodorant Soap, Palmolive: Mild All-Family Soap, Cashmere Bouquet Beauty Soap, and Vel Beauty Bar. Lever Brothers makes Dove, Caress Body Bar with Bath Oil, Lifebuoy Deodorant Soap, Phase III Deodorant Bar with Cream, and Lux Beauty Soap. The packaging as well as the names show whether these will be marketed to women, to men, or to families.

Much of the exaggerated symbolism that is seen in advertising is based on the difference in appearance between males and females. However, there is a circular effect to the whole thing. Since the symbolism works to convince males and females that they should look different, they adopt personal dressing and grooming habits which will increase these differences. A minor but nevertheless interesting example is men's and women's car coats—the pleat in the back folds in opposite directions. On a woman's coat it is turned so that it will stay smooth if she gets in on the passenger side of the car while on a man's it will stay smooth if he gets in on the driver's side. With other articles of clothing, the difference is more extreme. For example, what will make for comfortable sleeping is very much the same for a male and a female body, but men's *pajamas* are very different from women's *nightgowns* or *nighties*. The same is true of a man's *robe* or *smoking jacket*, compared to a woman's *negligee* or *peignoir*.

Within the last decade or so, people no longer seem so determined to divide everything along male and female lines. This change in attitude is shown through changes in the language. For example, women used to go to beauty shops while men went to barbershops. This is still true, but a new option has been added so that many people of both sexes now go to hair stylists with such names as "Guys and Gals," "Hair Dimensions for Men and Women," and "Unisex Hair Design." Women used to be the only ones who wore *cologne* or *perfume* while men wore *after-shave lotion*, but now it is fairly common to have *men's cologne*. Other terms coming into the language because of a loosening up of the old boundaries are *men's purses*, *women's briefcases*, and *men's jewelry*. But notice how the terms still retain a word to

identify the referent as being for either males or females. If speakers talked about *women's cologne* and *men's cologne*, *women's purses* and *men's purses*, *women's briefcases* and *men's briefcases*, and *women's jewelry* and *men's jewelry*, or left off the sex-markers altogether, then the terms would truly be equal. But as it is they show that speakers are still somewhat surprised to find cologne for a man or a briefcase for a woman, and so forth.

Three success stories in the advertising world show how arbitrary are some of the sex distinctions that are put on products. Marlboro cigarettes, for example, were originally made to be sold as women's cigarettes but they weren't successful. Then a new advertising campaign was devised based on what social scientists had found out about people's daydreams. This successful bit of advertising changed the whole sales picture. A similar thing happened with British Sterling cologne. It was designed for women but when it didn't sell the company decided to try marketing it to men. They were very successful at it. The third story is a little different in that the product was selling very well to women but then the company found that men too were potential buyers. The product is the diet drink, TAB. According to the supplier who has the contract on the soft drink vending machines at Arizona State University, the drink was originally marketed just to women because it was assumed that they were the only ones who were conscious of their weight. But in a hot and dry climate such as Arizona, where soft drinks are consumed at a level 12% higher than the national average, many men began drinking diet pop too. To insure obtaining a part of this market, the manufacturers of TAB gradually darkened the color of the can so that over a period of a few months it was changed from pink to red. The advertisements also began showing both males and females. Notice that in each of these cases, the product stayed exactly the same while what changed was the marketing.

37.

CONCLUSION

Speakers frequently exaggerate as they strive to communicate abstract ideas or to stress a point they want to make. People may not be aware that they are exaggerating when they use symbolism through metaphors and similes, but the effect is much the same because there is an emphasis put on whatever semantic features are being compared.

In other situations, people purposely exaggerate—for instance, when they make verbal caricatures or jokes. It is easy to exaggerate the differences between males and females because this is the one most obvious division between people. Everyone is either a male or a female. When it is desirable to divide people into two groups, this is the basis that is nearly always used. It is such a common division that it serves as the source for many metaphorical divisions. For example, items which do not have a sex are nevertheless divided into "masculine" or "feminine." Light, soft or pastel colors are said to be feminine while deep, dark shades such as browns, greys, and drab greens and blues are said to be masculine. Heavy wood and leather furniture is masculine. Ruffled and frilly furniture is feminine. In a home the sitting room is feminine while the den is masculine. This kind of division is purely metaphorical, but it serves to reinforce and exaggerate the extent of the differences that do exist between males and females. Commercial interests take advantage of this division for two reasons. First, it enables businesses to sell more products. And, second, it enables them to use psychologically satisfying advertising which makes the customer feel flattered that something has been made especially for him or for her.

COMMENTS FROM OTHER STUDENTS

a. As consumers we end up paying for all the extra advertising that promotes the specialized male/female products. We would buy such essentials anyway as soap, toothpaste, shampoo, and aspirins, but with the specialization we end up paying for oversaturating the media with excessive advertising. The extra money that a soap company uses to advertise five or six competing brands is passed on to the consumer through high prices.

b. In the grocery stores, the food items have women's names but the restaurants are named after men. For example, you buy *Mrs. Paul's* fish from the freezer at the store, but at the restaurant it's *Arthur Treacher's*. With ice cream it's *Lady Borden's* at the store and *Howard Johnson's* at the restaurant. And with pizza, it's *Mama Celeste's* at the store and *The Godfather's* or *Papa Jay's* at the restaurant. Other women's names seen on grocery store shelves include *Sara Lee, Aunt Jemima, Mrs. Butterworth, Rosarita, Minute Maid,* and *Betty Crocker.* Men's names seen on restaurants include *Mr. Steak, Big Boy, Mr. Hero, Sir George's, Huck Finn, Mister Munchies, Burger Chef,* and *Jack-in-the-Box* plus all the last names that people assume to be men's names. I guess this is an attempt to appeal to the person who is making the decisions, that is, the mother deciding what to buy at the grocery store and the father deciding where to take the family out to dinner. But it's the same old thing all over again. Everybody knows it's more prestigious to go out to eat than to buy frozen food at the grocery store.

c. Many advertising campaigns are sheer nonsense. Tobacco, for example, is bought in a common market, a market open for all cigarette manufacturers; yet the same tobacco used to make cigarettes for the macho Marlboro Man is the tobacco used for Virginia Slims and smoked by women who have come a long way, baby.

d. Even when products are marketed to women, they still exploit the idea of a man's strength. Housewives have to rely on men for the "big jobs" as shown in such names as *Mr. Clean, Janitor in a Drum,* and *Mr. Muscle.*

e. Maybe as males we are accorded more prestige than females in some areas of language, but we really end up paying for it. Just take the one example of cars and driving. Girls don't even want to go out with a guy who doesn't have a good car. They complain about having to spend money on clothes, but that's nothing compared to buying or building a decent car. Whenever a boy and a girl go someplace, the boy has to drive his car and pay for the gas and then to top it all off, boys are punished for driving more than girls. Their insurance rates are practically double. If the Equal Rights Amendment is passed, that's the first thing I'm going to take to court.

f. If women are really so delicate, then they should be the ones—not men—wearing those big clumpy oxfords to protect their feet. But instead women wear dainty high heels and sandals or clogs and platforms, which are very hard to walk in and impossible to run in. There's a similar difference in clothes. Women's clothing is made out of soft, clinging materials and the designs are made to reveal as much of the female body as the law will allow or as the wearer considers attractive. The Johnny Carson show is a good example of this contrast. He loves to have the women guests wear dresses that reveal their bodies, but the first thing he does for the men is to furnish them with knee-high socks so that if they happen to cross their legs, their pants won't pull up high enough to reveal any skin.

FIELD WORK, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

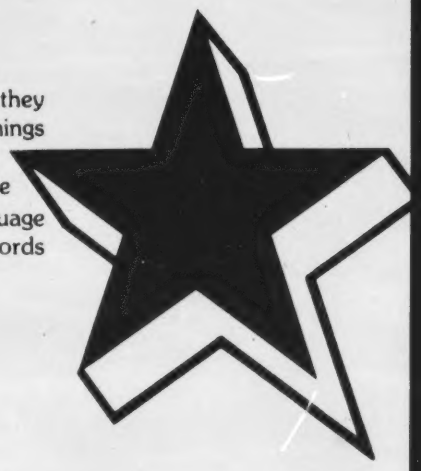
1. There is a marker in each of the following metaphors which shows that its source is related specifically to only one sex. Using your own knowledge of cultural history, expectations, and beliefs, identify the semantic feature that the referent was thought to have in common with one sex but not with the other. If you cannot think of the feature, interview other native speakers to see what they think. There may be several contributing factors, and getting a variety of opinions will reveal more clearly the bases for cultural beliefs.

FEMININE BASED	MASCULINE BASED
mother nature	old man winter
black widow spider	daddy longlegs spider
lazy Susan serving tray	La Z Boy lounging chair
ships referred to with feminine pronouns	man-of-war battleship
justice portrayed as a woman	a father of modern science
ladybug	

2. There are dozens of metaphors that have an animal as the source and a human as the referent. Many are not sex-specific, for example, *turkey, bookworm, night owl, snake in the grass,* to *kid someone,* to *monkey around* and to be *slothful.* But according to students in other classes, the metaphors listed below are nearly always used with one sex or the other. First, write the metaphors in two lists. Make one list for terms you would be most likely to use with males and another list for terms you would be most likely to use with females.

a beast	to be mousy
a bird	a rat
to be bullheaded	a loan shark
a social butterfly	a shrew
to be catty	a tiger
a chick	a tigress
to be strong as an elephant	to go tomcatting around
a jackass	a vixen
to be kittenish	a vulture
a lamb	a wolf

Now see if you can come to any conclusions as to how the two lists differ and what they show cumulatively about cultural expectations for males and females. Look at such things as the size of the source, whether the animal is wild rather than tame, and how many animals in each column are disliked or feared by people. Most of the people who have complained about the kind of stereotyping that is in the English language have been women, but this is one place where men might well complain that words with negative connotations are disproportionately masculine.



3. Think of some other examples, besides the ones given on pages 36 and 37 in which a company makes more sales because similar products are marketed differently to females and males. If you have trouble finding examples, check newspaper and magazine ads or mail-order catalogues. How are the differences communicated or promoted to consumers? Is it by color, by name, by size, by package design, or a combination of these?
4. Sometimes advertisers will successfully capitalize on the assumptions that people have about males and females. Each of the following advertisements is based on one or more presuppositions about differences in males and females. What are these presuppositions? Notice that once you get the presupposition out into the open, you may not agree with it or you may find it irrelevant to the product being advertised. But as long as the presupposition remains hidden, most readers will accept it as valid.
   A. In an advertisement for an electric hair dryer, a face-washing machine, and a hair-curling kit, the headline reads, "Give Your Baby a Power Tool for Christmas! . . . Who Doesn't Want a Beautiful Baby?"
   B. In an advertisement for a dishwasher a man and a little girl are pictured loading it up. The caption is "So easy anyone can do it!"
   C. An advertisement for a club providing emergency road service reads, "Last year stranded members were rescued at the rate of one every three seconds . . . millions of them women."
   D. A beautiful girl is posed with a new car being advertised for under $4,000. The caption reads, "Get hooked on the looks and sold on the price."
   E. An advertisement for hair coloring for women reads, "To know you're the best you can be!"
   F. A lawn tractor being ridden by a man wearing a crown is pictured under the caption, "Your home is your castle."
5. In the following terms, is there a larger difference in meaning than just that of male and female referents? If so, explain the differences and try to figure out why they exist.

   handsome man .....handsome woman.....handsome person

   beautiful man .....beautiful woman .....beautiful person

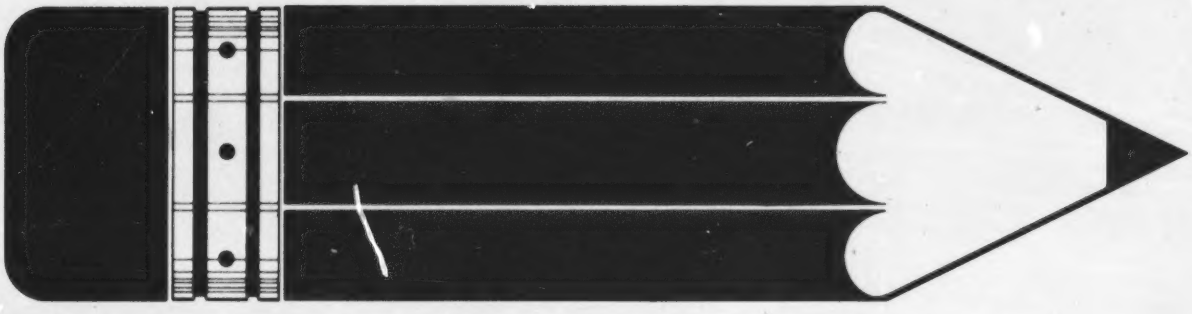
   pretty man .....pretty woman .....pretty person

   pretty boy .....pretty girl .....pretty child

COMPOSITION

Write an essay based on one of the following ideas:

1. Choose one of the analysis problems given on page 41. Collect and analyze data other than those worked on in class. Write a report explaining your data and the conclusions you reached.
2. Look through current magazines and find examples of two or three advertisements which rely for their effectiveness on some exaggerated difference between male and female characteristics. Write an analysis of the advertisements in which you explain such things as the presuppositions behind them, who their intended audiences are, and how successful you think they are in reaching those audiences. Turn in the advertisements or copies of them along with your analysis.
3. Do an analysis and write a report on the marketing of soap. You might get insights by dividing the kinds of bath soap listed on page 36 into three columns: (A) that marketed to women, (B) that marketed to men, (C) that marketed to people of either sex. The column marketed to women will be longer because women are most often thought of as the ones to do the family shopping. They are also thought of as the ones to do the laundry so it is to be expected that laundry soaps would be marketed to women. You might visit a supermarket and collect the names of laundry soaps. See if the same companies make several different brands. *Soap operas* on radio and television got their name (which has now been shortened to *soaps*) because they were usually sponsored by soap manufacturers who were trying to appeal to women. Based on the evidence you have collected about the marketing of soap, including the subject matter and the tone of *soap operas*, write a character sketch of the American woman as seen by national advertisers.
4. Using one of the "Comments from Other Students" as a basis, write an essay in which you either extend the idea that the student was getting at or present an opposing view.



LINGUISTIC PRINCIPLE • 4
LANGUAGE CHANGES CONTINUOUSLY, BUT IN DIFFERENT WAYS WITH DIFFERENT SPEAKERS

From this lesson you should learn:

1. How language changes through predictable processes.
2. How changing social attitudes will bring about changes in a language.
3. How communication difficulties can arise when a speaker uses a word with its new meaning and a listener interprets it with its old meaning—or vice versa.
4. How language concerning controversial issues will also be controversial.

One of the favorite passages in linguistic writing is the dialogue in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass* in which Humpty Dumpty says to Alice, "When *I* use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less." Alice protests, "The question is whether you can make words mean so many different things." "The question is," responds Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master, that's all."

The reason that writers so often quote this passage is that it is a vivid statement of a linguistic truth that few of us stop to think about. Most speakers feel that words are inviolate—sealed packages of inherent meaning beyond the users' control. But actually words are only those sounds and letter combinations that have been arbitrarily chosen to represent various concepts. If people choose to change the concepts they are thinking about when they say a particular word or to make different sounds for the same concept, nothing can prevent it. The reason people do not make frivolous changes merely for variety is that they would not then be communicating; meaning would be lost because the common agreement between speaker and listener would be broken—the new sound would not represent the commonly understood meaning.

In language these agreements do change, but they change gradually. Today, because of the power of the mass media, agreements may be changing faster than ever before. This accelerated change is happening not just in English-speaking countries, but in most technologically advanced societies so, that French, Russian, and Japanese are changing about as rapidly as English is. Stuart Berg Flexner, a senior editor of *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, was quoted in Alvin Toffler's best-selling book *Future Shock* as estimating that of the 450,000 "usable" words in the English language today, only a little more than half of them would be understood by William Shakespeare. However, other respected linguists argue that there is no sure way to measure such an understanding, especially retroactively: we can't read Shakespeare's mind. We do know from the evidence of Shakespeare's written work that he didn't use thousands of words we use commonly today and that, of those he did use, he used hundreds with meanings different from our modern meanings.

The fact that television and radio messages can reach so many people today is counterbalanced by the fact that there are so many more speakers of each of the major languages that universal change is much harder to bring about. However, all linguists do agree that every living language (that is, every language that is being spoken) undergoes change. And as they have studied the various ways that these changes in meanings of words occur, they have discovered that certain processes are at work. Some of the more common of these processes are described on the following pages.

SPECIALIZATION: When a word goes through the process of specialization, it takes on as its main meaning one which used to be only a small part. This sometimes happens as a result of euphemizing. Because of negative connotations, people do not want to be specific so they use a general term or phrase which might be interpreted in several different ways. But when a large number of people do the same thing, always with the same specific meaning in mind, then the general term gets closely associated in people's minds with the specific meaning. For example, people who feel nauseated are usually hesitant to excuse themselves from a group by saying, "I think I'm going to vomit." Instead they say, "I think I'm going to be sick." Now when anyone uses that particular phrase, listeners move back and do what they can to assist the person in leaving quickly.

Another way that specialization takes place is that a certain substance employed in making a commonly used item becomes the name for that item. This happened with the word *iron*, which has become the name for a heating and pressing utensil as well as for the substance from which irons used to be made. (Today "irons" are made from steel and other alloys.) The grammar has changed to accommodate the specialized meaning as shown by the fact that *iron* is now used as a verb, even in situations totally unrelated to the actual substance or the utensil, for example, "The city council met to iron out the wrinkles in the new plan." A *paper* as a term for a newspaper and *glasses* as a term for either eyeglasses or drinking glasses are other examples of meanings that have developed through the process of specialization.

GENERALIZATION: The process opposite of specialization is that of generalization. With this process, the meaning of a word expands so that it includes a whole range of items. The word *shipment*, for example, used to refer to something that was sent on a ship. But today *shipments* go in railroad cars, trucks, and airplanes. *Drugstores* sell many things besides drugs, a majority of the people *kidnapped* are adults rather than children, and most people *butter* their bread with margarine.

The word *blackboard* shows how both specialization and generalization can happen to the same lexical item. The first specialized meaning of the two words *black* and *board* was simply a board that was painted black so that children could write on it with chalk. Then smoother substances than boards were found so the specialized meaning expanded to include substances other than boards. A later development was the painting of these smooth-surfaced composites in colors different from black. Today the word has undergone generalization so that *blackboards* are not really boards and they are not necessarily black. They may be grey, brown, or green. In fact, the wholly new term—*chalkboard*—is replacing *blackboard*.

ANALOGY: When the use of a particular word or phrase is common in the language, then speakers have a tendency to make other words conform to the more common usage. For example, children often talk about playing *chest* instead of *chess*. Since they are already familiar with the form ending with a *t*, they use it because it sounds the most like a real word.

Input is a word that has developed as an analogous term to *output*. And *early on*, as in, "Early on he struck out three hitters in a row," has developed because of people's familiarity with *later on*. This last example was pointed out by Richard A. Meade, who wrote an article "Language Change in This Century," in the December, 1978 *English Journal*. Another example of analogous word change which he has observed is the pluralization of *savings* in *daylight savings time*. Originally the term was *daylight saving time*, which when thought about makes more sense. But he thinks that people began putting an s on *saving* because they were so accustomed to seeing it this way in the names of savings and loan companies and in such terms as *savings bonds, savings accounts*, and the *savings* promised by advertisers. Another example is *alright*, which many people use instead of the standard form *all right*. This has probably been influenced by the spelling of *already*.

When people are purposely playing with language and being creative in order to attract attention, they will often make use of analogy. For example one bus company advertised a new discount plan for senior citizens as an *Unflation Fare*. Readers and listeners immediately caught on that this was the opposite of inflation. Another example of playful analogy is a sign in the St. Louis airport advertising a new high rise hotel which is located near the arch. The hotel is advertised as "*underlooking* the arch." People do a double take when they see the sign because they are accustomed to the word *overlooking* but not *underlooking*. The extra thought that they have to give

to the analogous word makes them realize how tall the arch really is.

AMELIORATION: When amelioration occurs, a word takes on a more favorable connotation by developing a new or specialized meaning. For example, in American English this happened to the word *lumber*. It used to be a term for trash or any old junk that was left lying around. In frontier communities where building was always going on, what was usually left lying around was boards and pieces of wood, so eventually this is the meaning that the word *lumber* developed. There are several examples of amelioration in current slang. For example, people might use the words *bad* or *tough* (or *tuff*) to describe something they like.

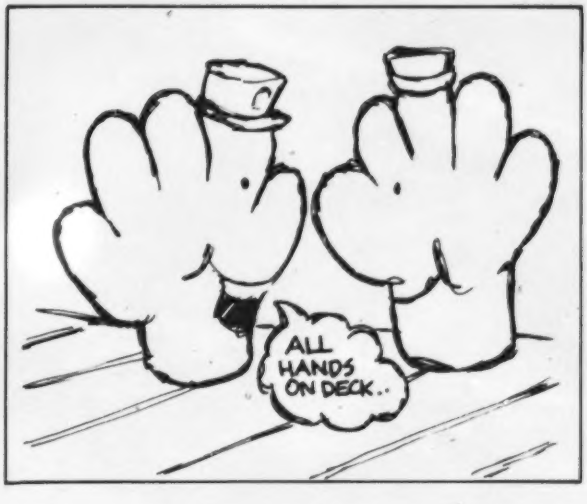
PEJORATION: Pejoration is the opposite of amelioration. It is the process in which a word takes on an unfavorable meaning. Albert Marckwardt in his book *American English*[5] gives the word *saloon* as an example. It was originally the same as *salon* and when American settlers were looking for a prestigious-sounding name for their bars, they thought of this. Hence, "a word previously associated with fashion, elegance, and politeness came to be used in connection with a kind of establishment which was often fairly mean and dingy."

Euphemisms are often a part of the process of pejoration, in that a group of people will think of a euphemism or a more pleasant-sounding name for themselves and will begin to use it, but after a few years it develops all of the negative connotations of the earlier name. Another way to say this is that pejoration takes place, and the group is left to think up another name. Death is a semantic area that few speakers like to think about. They transfer these negative feelings to the people who take care of dead bodies so people in the mortuary business are constantly shifting names trying to get away from the negative connotations. *Undertaker* used to be the common term, but *funeral director* or *mortician* are now preferred. *Funeral home* has a more pleasant sound than *morgue*, and "Memory Garden" and "Forest Lawn" are more appealing than cemetery.

Another kind of euphemism involves foreign words. When a word has developed negative connotations and people want to be able to refer to the idea without arousing the negative feelings, then words are sometimes borrowed from other languages and people accept the new words as being more elegant. For example, realtors found that people would much rather live on a *cul de sac* than on a *dead end street*. And people would rather say that they feel *nauseous* than that they are going to vomit.

SYNECDOCHE: Synecdoche is the process through which the name for a part of something gradually begins to be used to name the whole thing. For example, if you say to someone, "Lend me a hand," you don't expect them to respond with, "Okay, if you promise to return it." You weren't asking for their hand; you were asking for their support and help in whatever way was most needed. This is the same thing that a naval officer is asking for in the command, "All hands on deck!" Similarly, if a man asks for a woman's hand, he doesn't really want only her hand. He also wants her *heart*, which is another example of synecdoche. A rancher who buys twelve *head* of cattle wants more than their heads. And someone who is called a *brain* is undoubtedly a whole person. Notice that with synecdoche, the speaker chooses the part that seems to be the most important or distinctive. People in the public eye are often given such names. Jimmy Durante was called *The Schnoz*, football kicker Lou Groza was called *The Toe*, and the "mouthy" baseball player and coach Leo Durocher was called *The Lip*.

Two fairly recent examples of synecdoche are *tube* as a shortened name for a television set and *paperback* as the name for a soft cover book.



45.

HISTORICAL CHANGES IN ENGLISH ABOUT MALES AND FEMALES

According to the earliest records, the word *man* meant human as contrasted with animal. Alternate forms were used as specific markers of sex. *Wifman* was the female form and *werman* was the male form. In an example of synecdoche, the prefix *wer* came from ***weapon*** and is still seen in ***werewolf***, meaning "man wolf." A problem with the prefix *wif* was that it was hard to pronounce the *f* sound right next to the *m* sound. So eventually speakers left out the *f* and just said ***wimen***. But they kept the feminine prefix *wif* to use by itself to mean "woman." It is with this meaning that *wif* is seen in such old words as ***fishwife***, ***alewife***, and ***housewife***. When Chaucer wrote about the ***Wife of Bath*** he was writing about the "woman of Bath." As *wife* became the female word, then *man* became the male word. It was at this time in the history of the language that the wording for the wedding ceremony was drawn up with its "I now pronounce you man and wife." Probably because women were so often thought of in a relational role to their husbands, the word *wife* developed the specialized meaning of a woman married to a man.

The word *husband* was originally a title for a man who was established in one place as a farmer rather than as a wandering hunter or herdsman. The word literally meant *housebound* and also had the meaning of "careful management" which is still seen in such terms as *animal husbandry* and *to husband your money*. Because it was easier for men like this to be married and to have families, this word also gradually developed the specialized meaning of a man married to a woman.

This example relates to the tendency of speakers to make pairs of analogous words, which is why English has the two terms ***male*** and ***female***. The word ***male*** is the older of the two terms. However, there was a word in Middle English, ***femelle***, which meant "small." It began with the same letters as the Latin *femina*. Through folk etymology—which happens when the common people (as differentiated from scholars) make up an origin of a word and sometimes change its pronunciation to better fit what they think it relates to — the word was changed. Since the word *small* was often used to refer to women, people thought it meant "woman" and so they changed the spelling and pronunciation to make it match the word *male*.

Another interesting derivation is that of the word *hysterical*. It was borrowed into English from the ancient Greeks. It is cognate with *hysterectomy* and comes from the Greek word *hystera*, meaning "uterus." The Greeks thought that only women acted in irrational and emotional ways and so such behavior must be caused by something that only women have. Hence, they named it after the uterus. This is an example of synecdoche. But through generalization, the meaning has expanded so that today it can refer to people whether or not they have a uterus. Another word that has undergone generalization so that it can refer to people of either sex is the word *virtuous*. The first part of it is cognate with *wer* meaning "man" as illustrated earlier in *werewolf*. (In Latin a *v* was used in place of a *w*). This means that *virtuous* was originally tied to the idea of "man" just as *hysterical* was originally tied to the idea of "woman." But both of these words have undergone generalization so that they are no longer limited to one sex. The following chart presents some other words that have undergone changes in their meanings.

MALE/FEMALE WORDS WHOSE MEANINGS HAVE CHANGED

	TERM	EARLIER MEANING	PRESENT MEANING	PROCESS OF CHANGE
A.	Apollo	In Roman and Greek myths, the god of manly beauty and wisdom.	Any young man of graceful beauty and skills; also, the Apollo space program.	Generalization
B.	Associate of Arts Degree	The degree first given at a women's college because it was thought unseemly to give a *bachelor's degree* to a young lady.	The degree given to both males and females at two-year colleges.	Generalization
C.	Coed	Shortened form of *coeducational* in reference to colleges that admitted women.	Any female student in college.	Specialization
D.	Guy	In the 1600s, a friend or supporter of the English conspirator, Guy Fawkes.	Any friendly associate as in "one of the guys," or "you guys." Some speakers use it only with males; others use it to refer to people of both sexes.	Generalization
E.	Jock	A strap first worn by jockeys to protect the male body while racing horses.	A male athlete in any sport. Some speakers use the term to refer to any active, athletic person regardless of sex.	Synecdoche followed by generalization
F.	Madam	Title of respect for a woman,equivalent to *sir* for a man.	The manager of a house of prostitution.	Pejoration
G.	Manly	Of, or relating to, the concept of being male.	A description of the positive attributes of strength, independence, and righteousness.	Amelioration
H.	Skirt	Article of clothing worn by women.	A female, usually one who is sexually attractive.	Synecdoche

PLANNED CHANGES IN ENGLISH

The kinds of language change just discussed develop in a comparable way to folktales and folk humor. No one person can be credited with their creation. Instead many people contribute in varying degrees. They probably do not even realize that they are contributing to language change. In contrast, there are other kinds of language change which are consciously brought about. People work on them in much the same way as an author works on writing a story. Some of these processes are shown below:

COMMERCIAL CREATION: A company develops a new product or a product with a distinctive feature. Since the company must compete to sell this product, they are naturally interested in developing a name that will describe the new feature and will also stick in the public's mind. Once the name is developed, tremendous amounts of money are spent in advertising which has as its primary goal selling the product, but as an en-route goal, making the product name a household word. This is how such commercial names or descriptors came into the language as *hatchback* for a car that pops open in the back, *Egg Beaters* for a low cholesterol egg substitute, and *micronite filter* for a "scientifically designed" system of removing tars and nicotine from cigarette smoke.

Some commercial names have been so well chosen that they immediately catch on with the general public and become the term that people use for that product or any similar product made by another company. *Jello* for gelatin dessert is one such word. Others include *Ping-pong* for table tennis, *Kleenex* for facial tissue, *Scotch tape* for cellophane tape, *Polaroid* for the kinds of film and cameras where the pictures come out already developed, *Levi's* for heavy denim pants, *Thermos* for vacuum sealed containers, *Band-aid* for small adhesive bandages, and *Frisbee* for round plastic saucers that are thrown through the air. Notice how the commercial names which have become popular are shorter and usually more descriptive than the fuller dictionary definitions. It is a compliment to the skill of the person who developed the brand name for it to become a general term, but still companies do not like this to happen because when it does they do not get full credit for the money they spend on advertising and sometimes people give them credit for the bad qualities of another brand. For example, just after the 1980 Super Bowl a letter from the Monsanto corporation was read on the television show "Sixty Minutes." The letter was protesting an earlier program where Terry Bradshaw had been interviewed and had said he didn't like to play on *astroturf*. The Monsanto Company pointed out that *Astroturf* was their particular brand name and that what Terry Bradshaw played on in the Pittsburgh Steeler's stadium was a competitive brand.

On a more general level, a change in technology also produces new terms throughout an industry. Calling a product by a different name is the most efficient way that a company can put across the idea that their product is "new and improved." Undoubtedly this commercial advantage to rotating the language has contributed to the speed with which it is changing. For example, many people are alive today who have seen the name for a piece of household furniture go through seven generations. Early in its history, the item was called a *Victrola* or a *gramophone*, then a *phonograph* or a *record player*. As technology changed, the name was changed to *hi-fi set*, then to *stereo*. This was followed by a *quadraphonic* or *sound system*. In a similar way, rather than advertising an improved kind of *adding machine*, companies stressed the new technology by using the name *calculator*; and rather than advertising a new kind of *soap*, companies advertised *detergents*.

Sometimes there is a label attached to a product which is not very popular, so the manufacturers think up a new name. For many years there have been bicycles with motors on them which could be optionally used. But these *motorbikes* did not have very much glamour to them. They were sort of a poor person's motorcycle, so when the cycling industry decided that conditions were right for re-introducing bicycles with motors on them, they didn't want to use the old name with its negative connotations. They came up with a new combination word, *moped*, which comes from the word *motor* and the Latin word for foot, *ped*. It really isn't very different from *motorbike*, but since it's a brand new word, it gets to start off on its own and build up whatever connotations people feel inclined to give it.

ARTISTIC CREATION: Authors, poets, and songwriters all strive to bring fresh images to people's minds by using new metaphors or using old words in new combinations. Words from the drug culture were spread through the language, and in some cases were created,

by songwriters who capitalized on the excitement of singing about something dangerous and/or forbidden in such songs as "Up from the Sky," "Purple Haze," "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds," and "Strawberry Fields Forever." Many metaphors start out as literary creations and then turn into regular vocabulary items. For example, the comparisons between people or events and the weather were once literary metaphors, but today they are a part of the regular language as when speakers talk about a *storm of protest*, a *sprinkling of applause*, a *baby shower*, a *drifter*, and a *lightning attack*. e. e. cummings wrote a poem about "just spring" in which he said the world was "mud-luscious" and "puddle-wonderful." When a writer's unusual use of a word or an expression appeals to enough people, they start using it themselves. Recent examples include *doublespeak*, *future shock*, *Catch 22*, and *The Impossible Dream*.

WORD BORROWING: When a new word is needed, it is often easier to borrow an existing form from a nearby language than to create a totally new sound combination. A word that is already in use has proven itself on such scores as ease of pronunciation and a comfortable matching of semantics with phonology—that is, the meaning with the sounds. Also a borrowed word has a head start in becoming generally known because if the word is taken from a speech community that is geographically close by, there will probably be some speakers who already know its meaning and can thereby act as "sponsors."

One of the main reasons that American English differs from British English is that many words have been borrowed from immigrant groups as well as from those who were on the scene before English-speakers came. Native Americans had words unknown to English speakers for indigenous plants and animals that grew only on the American continent. Such terms as *chipmunk*, *hickory*, *moose*, *muskrat*, *opossum*, *pecan*, *persimmon*, *raccoon*, *squash*, *skunk*, *tamarack*, *terrapin*, and *woodchuck* were borrowed with modified pronunciations into English.

Another semantic area of extensive word borrowing related to the kind of life suited to the geographical conditions. Until the mid 1800s, the American Southwest was a part of Mexico, and the Spanish-speakers who lived in the dry, almost desert-like area had developed a rich culture centered around the kind of ranching especially suited to the climate. When English-speakers began to join this type of living, it was efficient for them to borrow such Spanish terms as *bronco*, *buckaroo*, *burro*, *chaparral*, *chaps*, *cinch*, *corral*, *hacienda*, *jerky*, *lariat*, *lasso*, *mustang*, *palomino*, *patio*, *peon*, *pinon* (nuts), *pinto*, *poncho*, *quirt*, *ranch*, *rodeo*, *sombrero*, and *stampede*, many of which, in turn, had been borrowed from Native American languages.[49]

OFFICIAL CHANGE: Sometimes a word or usage will be in the domain of, or somehow controlled by, a particular group such as a government agency. When this is the case, if the people in charge of that particular agency wish to make a change, they may do so. For example on June 14, 1978, the Associated Press wrote an obituary for the word *smog*. It began with, "Smog died yesterday. Smog's death was attributed to bureaucratic fiat. Well known to many city dwellers, he was believed to be in his late 30s." The article went on to say that Smog's passage was announced by Douglas Costle, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. Smog was born in London in the late 1940s, "the son of Smoke and Fog, once pillars of British society." It was in the 1950s that Smog immigrated to the United States,

first showing up in southern California, but later all across the continent. The problem with Smog was that his "character was difficult to ascertain." The only chemical in Smog that could be measured with consistency was ozone. So after 25 years of reporting "the ozone level of smog," it occurred to someone that it would be more sensible to simply talk about ozone. So now, when official reports are issued describing air pollution, what is described is the amount of ozone in the air.

But even though the federal reports on pollution no longer mention *smog*, people will probably continue to use the term for many years to come because its meaning is so vivid. The picturesque combination of *smoke* and *fog* brings a clearer image to the mind than the scientifically accurate *ozone* does.

Another example of government change was shown in an announcement by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. It was seeking better-sounding names for the following fish, which could be sold for food if only people would buy them: dogfish, ratfish, cancer crab, barred grunt, wolffish, Jack, and saucer-eye porgy.

PLANNED CHANGE FOR POLITICAL REASONS: As different groups gain or lose political power and influence, the language will change accordingly. For example, as minority groups are gaining more power and acknowledgment, they are having a bigger impact on the language both through legislation and through persuasion. The changing in the 1960s of the negative connotations of the term *black* to the appealing concept that "Black is beautiful" is an example of political language change through persuasion. A related issue which has caused considerable controversy in education is that of students' rights to their own language. The question is whether or not schools should teach and accept only the standard formal speech of the educated majority or whether all students should be taught to read and write in their own dialects. One of the places that this becomes a very important issue is on college entrance exams and on aptitude tests in many fields of endeavor. Pressures from minority groups have caused testmakers to at least try to create "culture fair" and "language fair" tests, but some critics say they have an impossible task because any test designed to measure academic potential must rely heavily on the kind of language used in academic life.

In many parts of the country, bilingual education is a hotly debated topic which brings politics and language together. Parents of Chinese-speaking children in San Francisco brought a case to court in which it was decided that children had a right to be instructed in their own language or at least given special help in learning English. This has caused significant changes in many public schools, especially where there are large numbers of non-native English-speakers. For example in the American Southwest, there are many Spanish-speakers. Approximately 150 years ago, Spanish was the dominant language of the area. Then the Southwest went through a period of colonization by English-speakers. Because of leftover antagonisms from the struggles for the land, English-speakers made a concerted effort to drive Spanish underground. In public schools, children were not allowed to speak Spanish and those who did were often punished. But today, as the influence and power of Spanish-speakers have increased, so the use of Spanish has grown. As part of model bilingual programs, many English-speaking children are being taught Spanish. Official government documents, such as election ballots and school notices, are printed in both Spanish and English. This kind of interaction facilitates borrowing back and forth between Spanish and English. One indication of this new attitude toward Spanish is the fact that after 100 years of English translations, many of the earlier Spanish place names are again being used. For example, the Salt River in Arizona has been renamed the Rio Salado. Although local speakers have a hard time remembering to use the new name when referring to the river, they have easily accepted it in slightly different contexts—for example, the Rio Salado Project and the Rio Salado Community College. When new communities or subdivisions are created, Spanish words are a favorite choice for street or community names.

PLANNED CHANGES IN RELATION TO FEMALES AND MALES

Over the last ten years, many people in the United States have consciously taken steps to solve some of the language problems that have been pointed out in this study unit. Probably one of the steps with the most far-reaching results will be the guidelines which such publishers as Ginn and Company; Holt, Rinehart and Winston School Department; Macmillan Publishing Company; McGraw-Hill Book Company, and Scott, Foresman and Company have drawn up to help their writers be fairer in language. These publishers are especially concerned because they print many of the textbooks that are used in schools, and schools are now trying hard to buy textbooks that are fair to all children. Many newspaper as well as magazine editors also have such guidelines. Reprinted below as examples of such recommended usages are excerpts from the guidelines drawn up by the National Council of Teachers of English.[7] As part of the introduction, the authors state that the guidelines are not comprehensive, nor are they dogmatic: "Detailed and vigorous arguments continue over many of these language patterns. These debates have not been resolved; rather, an attempt has been made to identify usages that concerned men and women find objectionable and to propose alternatives."

General Problems

OMISSION OF ONE SEX

1. Although *man* in its original sense carried the dual meaning of adult human and adult male, its meaning has come to be so closely identified with adult male that the generic use of *man* and other words with masculine markers should be avoided whenever possible.

Examples	Alternatives
mankind	humanity, human beings, people
man's achievement	human achievements
the best man for the job	the best person for the job, the best man or woman for the job
manmade	synthetic, manufactured, crafted, machine-made
the common man	the average person, ordinary people

2. The use of *man* in occupational terms when persons holding the jobs could be either female or male should be avoided. English is such a rich language that alternatives to the much maligned—person (as in *congressperson*) can almost always be found (*representative*).

Examples	Alternatives
chairman	coordinator (of a committee or department) moderator (of a meeting), presiding officer, head, chair
businessman, fireman, mailman	business executive or manager, fire fighter, mail carrier

In the interest of parallel treatment, job titles for women and men should be the same.

Examples	Alternatives
steward and stewardess	flight attendant
policeman and policewoman	police officer

3. Because English has no generic singular—or common-sex—pronoun, we have used *he*, *his*, and *him* in such expressions as "the student . . . he." When we constantly personify "the judge," "the critic," "the executive," "the author," etc., as male by using the pronoun *he*, we are subtly conditioning ourselves against the idea of a female judge, critic, executive, or author. There are several alternative approaches for ending the exclusion of women that results from the pervasive use of the masculine pronouns.

   a. Recast into the plural.

Example	Alternative
Give each student his papers as soon as he is finished.	Give students their papers as soon as they are finished.

b. Reword to eliminate unnecessary gender problems.

Example	Alternative
The average student is worried about his grades.	The average student is worried about grades.

c. Replace the masculine pronoun with *one*, *you*, or (sparingly) *he or she*, as appropriate.

Example	Alternative
If the student was satisfied with his performance on the pretest, he took the posttest.	A student who was satisfied with her or his performance on the pretest took the posttest.

d. Alternate female and male examples and expressions.

Example	Alternative
Let each student participate. Has he had a chance to talk? Could he feel left out?	Let each student participate. Has she had a chance to talk? Could he feel left out?

4. Using the masculine pronouns to refer to an indefinite pronoun (*everybody, everyone, anybody, anyone*) also has the effect of excluding women. In all but strictly formal usage, plural pronouns have become acceptable substitutes for the masculine singular.

Example	Alternative
Anyone who wants to go to the game should bring his money tomorrow.	Anyone who wants to go to the game should bring their money tomorrow.

5. Certain phrases inadvertently exclude women by assuming that all readers are men.

Example	Alternative
NCTE convention-goers and their wives are invited . . .	NCTE convention-goers and their spouses are invited . . .

DEMEANING WOMEN

1. Men and women should be treated in a parallel manner, whether the description involves jobs, appearance, marital status, or titles.

Examples	Alternatives
lady lawyer	lawyer
Running for Student Council president are Bill Smith, a straight-A sophomore, and Kathie Ryan, a pert junior.	Running for Student Council president are Bill Smith, a straight-A sophomore, and newspaper editor Kathie Ryan, a junior.
Senator Percy and Mrs. Chisholm	Charles Percy and Shirley Chisholm or Mr. Percy and Mrs. Chisholm or Senator Percy and Representative Chisholm.

2. Terms or adjectives which patronize or trivialize women or girls should be avoided, as should sexist suffixes and adjectives dependent on stereotyped masculine or feminine markers.

Examples	Alternatives
gal Friday	assistant
I'll have my girl do it.	I'll have my secretary do it.
career girl	professional woman, name the woman's profession, e.g., attorney Ellen Smith
ladies	women
libber	feminist
coed	student
authoress, poetess	author, poet
man-sized job	big or enormous job
old wives' tale	superstitious beliefs, story, or idea

SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING

1. Women should be shown as participating equally with men; they should not be omitted or treated as subordinate to men. Thus generic terms such as ***doctor*** or ***nurse*** should be assumed to include both men and women; "male nurse" and "woman doctor" should be avoided.

Examples	Alternatives
Writers become so involved in their work that they neglect their wives and children.	Writers become so involved in their work that they neglect their families.
Sally's husband lets her teach part-time.	Sally teaches part-time.
Have your mother send cookies for the field trip.	Have your parents send cookies for the field trip.
Write a paragraph about what you expect to do when you are old enough to have Mr. or Mrs. before your name.	Write a paragraph about what you expect to do when you grow up.
(spelling exercise) While lunch was *delayed*, the ladies chattered about last night's meeting.	While lunch was *delayed*, the women talked about last night's meeting.

2. Jobs, roles, or personal characteristics should not be stereotyped by sex.

Examples	Alternatives
the elementary teacher . . . she	elementary teachers . . . they
the principal . . . he	principals . . . they

Watching for language change might ordinarily be compared to watching a smoothly running clock. When looked at periodically, everyone can see that a change has taken place, but the close observer who stares continuously cannot perceive the minute-by-minute changes. Over the past ten years, however, change in the language related to males and females has come about so rapidly that it has been more like watching a digital clock or one of those big old-fashioned clocks where the ticks make the minute hand jerk forward. Not only have the changes been unusually fast, but they have come at several different levels.

About two-thirds of the business mail sent to females is now addressed to *Ms.* (pronounced *mz*). The use of the term was encouraged by feminists who thought it unfair to have to address a woman in such a way as to show whether or not she was married while no such distinction was made for men. The ease with which it came into the language was helped by three factors. First, southern United States speakers already pronounced *Miss* as though it were *mz*, and this meant that it did not sound strange to people. Second, the term looks normal because it takes the *M* and the *s* from both *Miss* and *Mrs.* and it is two letters in length analogous to *Mr.* And third, there was a real need for the term in that most businesses do not know the marital status of every woman with whom they wish to correspond. However, many women still prefer to be addressed as either *Miss* or *Mrs.*, which shows that the originators of a term do not have the final say over how the term will be used.

Another controversial term is *person* which many people began to use as a suffix in such words as *chairperson, caveperson,* and *policeperson.* The idea was to find a replacement for the ambiguous *man*, but some speakers argue that it is long and unwieldy. Others began using it in many places where it was not really necessary. For example, the dean of a college received a letter addressed to "Dear Dean Person." A problem which the promoters of *person* did not foresee was that many people would begin using it only with women. For example, they would still talk about *the chairman* when the referent was male and then use *chairperson* if, and only if, the referent was female. This practice does little to remove the emphasis on the sex of the referent.

A word that has come into the language more successfully is the word *single* or *singles* as in *singles apartments, singles parties, singles bars,* and *singles weekends.* As people became less concerned with the difference in attitudes toward males and females in relation to marriage, the need was felt for a neutral term to designate an unmarried person. The connotations are different from either *old maid* or *bachelor.*

People cannot be forced to make changes in their language use, but when they hear or read a new usage over and over again, it soon begins to sound natural and chances are that it will become a part of their language. Over the next several years it is going to be especially interesting to watch this process at work because several official bodies have adopted changes which may work their way into the general language. A small example of this is the change in the practice of naming storms after women. In May of 1978, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration announced that beginning with the following year, both men's and women's names would be used to identify hurricanes. In writing up the story, the Associated Press reported that the custom of using women's names was officially adopted in 1959 as an international code for making sure that different weather bureaus were talking about the same storm. At the time it seemed a good solution and a way to add lightness and humor to weather reports. Sailors had always used feminine pronouns to talk about the weather as in, "She's goin' blow tonight!" No one stopped to think that it was insulting to women that only their names were used to identify destructive and unpredictable storms. Now that both female and male names are used, it will be interesting to see if there will be a change in the way storms are thought about and discussed. For example, in September of 1979 one newspaper headline about Hurricane David read, "David Rapes Virgin Islands." The year before, a headline about Hurricane Louisa read, "Louisa flirts with Florida coast."

A more wide-reaching change came about through work done at the U.S. Department of Labor. In the spring of 1975, this department brought out a 363-page book entitled ***Job Title Revisions to Eliminate Sex- and Age-Referent Language from the "Dictionary of Occupational Titles."*** The main purpose of this guide which lists all job titles used by the government was not only to replace the suffix *man* which appeared on so many job titles, but also to find alternatives for *boy* and *girl* which had been used to identify many jobs as low status, for example, *busboy* and *busgirl.*

The difficulties of making such changes are shown in the fact that on the cover, the sponsoring agency is still listed as the *U.S. Department of Labor and Manpower Administration*. The editor of the book reported that it would literally take an act of Congress to change the word *manpower* in the title. A few examples from hundreds of changes in the new guide are given below. The 1977 *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* uses only the new terms.

Undoubtedly not everyone will be satisfied with all of the new titles. For example, in some industries, such as mining, a supervisor holds a higher rank than a foreman. A new way will have to be devised to show this distinction. And with terms where it seemed impossible to get away from designating one or the other sex, then a dual listing was used, for example, *ballet master/mistress* and *waiter/waitress*. But it is unlikely that in everyday usage people will bother writing or saying the double word.

In addition to the terms and usages which have been officially sponsored by publishers or by a government agency, there are several new terms which have come into the language because there was a need for them. Some of them are listed in the chart on the following page. Perhaps you can think of others.

OLD TERM	NEW TERM
assemblyman	assembler
advance man	advance agent
advertising layout man	advertising layout planner
ballet master	ballet master/mistress
bellboy	bellhop
bellman	bellhop
brakeman (on a train)	yard coupler
busboy	dining room attendant
	dish carrier
	clean-up helper
camera girl (in restaurants)	photographer
cameraman (TV or movies)	camera operator
charwoman	charworker
clergyman	clergy
coffee girl	coffee maker
deliveryman	deliverer
draftsman	drafter
farm boy	farm hand
foreman	supervisor
housemother	cottage parent
pin boy	pinsetter
repairman	repairer
salesman	sales associate
	sales agent
stewardess (on an airplane)	flight attendant
ski patrolman	ski patroller
ticket girl	pricing agent
waiter	waiter/waitress
yardman	yard worker
yardmaster (railroading)	yard manager

MALE/FEMALE TERMS WITH RECENTLY DEVELOPED MEANINGS

TERM	EARLIER MEANING	ADDITIONAL MEANING
A. Androgynous	In biology it is used to describe certain plants that have both male and female parts.	Writers and philosophers use the adjective *androgynous* or the noun *androgyny* to express their belief that such emotions and characteristics as fear, dependency, anger, domination, and leadership belong to all people regardless of their sex.
B. Chauvinist	Nicholas Chauvin was a soldier in Napoleon's army who developed such a reputation for fierce patriotism after Napoleon was defeated that his name came to be used for anyone who was unreasonably loyal to a particular cause or group.	In the early 1970s, the term was frequently used in the context of *male chauvinist* or *male chauvinist pig*, abbreviated *MCP*. Its meaning was someone who thought males were inherently superior to females.
C. Feminine Mystique	*Mystique* has the meaning of a complex of transcendental or somewhat mystical beliefs and attitudes developing around a particular idea.	In 1963, Betty Friedan coined this particular combination for the title of her popular book describing the attitudes and beliefs that have historically surrounded and influenced the idea of what it means to be female.
D. Feminist	The closest word to this in the language was *feminine* which meant characteristic of, or peculiar to, women.	The agentive suffix *-ist* as in *typist*, *artist*, and *realist* was added to make a noun form. It usually has the meaning of someone either male or female who is committed to the idea that women should receive equal opportunities for education and employment.
E. Liberationist	The closest word to this in the language was *liberate*, which meant to release or set at liberty.	Again, the agentive suffix *-ist* was added to identify someone working for a particular cause. Common terms in the 1970s included *men's liberation*, *human liberation*, and *women's liberation*. Since the latter was a controversial issue, the term soon acquired negative connotations, especially in its shortened forms of *women's lib* or *libber*.
F. Macho and Machismo	These terms existed in Spanish but not in English.	These terms describe a feeling of male superiority or value placed on the "traditional" male qualities of strength, confidence, independence, and self-satisfaction.
G. Sexism and Sexist	These particular forms were not in the language, but *sex* referred to the distinguishing characteristics of females and males.	These terms are comparable to *racism* and *racist*. They refer to any practice or attitude that is unfair to either males or females on the basis of their sex.

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that in this unit you have learned many things about the way language develops and changes and also that you have been motivated to examine some of the cultural and individual attitudes that are revealed by language usage. It is also hoped that some of you will go on to study linguistics in a much fuller form. What you have seen in this unit are only glimmerings from a multi-faceted subject. But whether or not you study language professionally, you will be affected by it all your life because it is one of the main threads that holds society together. And as a speaker you will also affect the language because language is the creation of its speakers. When it changes, it does so because its speakers have something new to say and they can't say it—or they don't want to say it—with the same old words. Much of the new and creative language that speakers come up with is metaphorical in nature. It compares something new to something about which everyone is already assumed to know. This sometimes contributes to an exaggerating of such ordinary things as the differences between females and males.

There is no *one* way to speak or write English. People in hundreds of different speech communities each have their own dialects, their own creative slang, and their own preferences for words and grammatical constructions. These different usages are offered to the larger speech community in a manner similar to the way political candidates toss their hats into the ring when they run for election. And as usually happens with elections, the winners are the ones that manage to get the most visibility. They are the ones who are seen on television and in the newspapers and magazines. The more powerful the backers of either a political candidate or a language usage, the more likely it is to be chosen by the people and given a job. But the job is never permanent. Just as there is always a political challenger, there are always linguistic challengers. And what may appear on the surface to be a very stable system is in reality ever changing. It's only when a language is dead—that is, when speakers no longer use it for purposes of everyday communication—that all of its words and forms can be kept exactly the same.

COMMENTS FROM OTHER STUDENTS

a. I don't agree with changing "Founding Fathers" to "Founding Parents." I've always thought of our Founding Fathers as being the same as the Constitutional Fathers. These were all males. By using the term *father*, we are getting that much more information across. I thought efficient communication was what we were trying to learn in this class anyway.

b. In several places we have talked about it being socially acceptable for females to play roles considered masculine—for example,to have boys' names, to wear boys' clothing, and to work at men's jobs. But this doesn't work the other way around. I think it's because the role of boys is considered so superior that boys aren't allowed to stray away from it. I've always heard that women are put on a pedestal, but it's really the other way around.. We can choose between staying in the traditional boundaries of the female role or trying some or all of the male activities. To be socially acceptable,the boy has to stay rigidly within his own domain.

c. When I read about some of the old words and attitudes, I'm amazed that civilization has advanced as much as it has. The male-female controversy is yet to be solved. I think there will always be arguing between the sexes about rights and discrimination, but as roles change, the arguments will also change. Medicine—for example, birth control and the way women's life expectancies have been increased—has brought about tremendous role changes. So has technology, which has made it so that *machine* power replaces *horse*-power and *man*power. Today brains and training are as important as muscles, and women can compete equally with men in these areas. With such big changes, of course there are arguments because everything has shifted, and before it will all fit back together a few corners and rough edges have to be worn away.

d. We don't realize how firmly implanted in our minds are the different male/female connotations and symbols. I have a friend (a female) who is small and dainty-looking, but

nevertheless strong and athletic. She has a job as a carry-out helper in a big grocery store. At first she didn't know why she was hired for this typically boy-type job, but then she figured it out. In our state, the grocery stores still provide helpers to take people's groceries to their cars, but really they would like to ease out of providing this "extra" service because they could save money like the stores in the East do. So what her particular store manager does is to hire petite girls as carry-outs; then when they smile at the customer and ask, "Do you need help out?" most men and even many women are embarrassed to say, "Yes." They don't realize that they are reacting to my friend as a symbol for female helplessness. They are flattered by her smile and her offer to help, and then, in turn, they feel chivalrous for turning down her offer. This makes everybody—or at least almost everybody—happy. My friend is happy because she doesn't have very much work to do. The store manager is happy because he has to pay for only one carry-out instead of three. And the customers get a good feeling because they have done something nice for that "pretty young thing." The really tricky part is that the customers don't even realize that they are being had because they do it themselves. They will soon be so accustomed to carrying out their own groceries that within a few years they won't notice when the stores no longer provide this service. The only people who are unhappy about the new situation are the two other carry-outs who used to have jobs too!

e. Some of the new job titles aren't really equivalent. For example, *waiter/waitress* may sound equivalent, but in our age group the male/female terms are really *busboy* and *waitress*. Girls get to be waitresses when they are the same age and have the same level of education and skill as boys who are assigned the less prestigious job of busing. It's not only less prestigious, it's less money. Waitresses get tips and busboys don't. Of course, the waitresses are supposed to give the busboys some of their money, but there's no system to it and if they don't want to, they don't have to. It's humiliating for a boy to have to ask for it.

FIELD WORK, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

1. Go back to the listing of words with recently developed meanings on page 56 and identify the process or processes through which the words developed additional meanings. The processes include analogy, artistic creation, generalization, pejoration, specialization, and word borrowing.
2. On page 62 are current examples of language use that violate the intent of the guidelines given by the National Council of Teachers of English. Identify the problem in each example and discuss alternatives. These items all appeared in the late 1970s. Do you think it will be as easy to find such examples in the late 1980s? In other words, how effective do you think guidelines can be in bringing about widespread language change?
3. On page 63 are newspaper and magazine clippings which each reflect or tell about some kind of language change. Read the clippings and select five examples. (Some include more than one.) Describe what process or processes relate to each of them, that is specialization, generalization, analogy, amelioration, pejoration, synecdoche, commercial creation, word borrowing, official change, or planned change for political reasons.
4. Show that you understood the points being made in the guidelines devised by the National Council of Teachers of English by applying them to the following sentences. The guidelines gave three main categories of problem areas:
   a. Omission of one sex.
   b. Demeaning women (and sometimes men) as a class.
   c. Sex-role stereotyping.

   Identify the problem or problems in each of the sentences as either a, b, or c. Then compose an acceptable alternative—if there is one—for each sentence.

   A. The parents' booster club treated the varsity athletes and their girl friends to an end-of-the-season banquet.
   B. **Over a thousand teenyboppers screamed and fainted throughout the concert given** en **by their love idol.**
   C. Chris is chairwoman and Phil is chairman of the campus drive to raise money for the Save-the-Whales campaign.
   D. Wouldn't you know it was a woman driver who rear-ended my car?
   E. I'm no women's libber, but I do believe in equality and fair play.
   F. The average student feels cheated when he sells his books at the end of the year and gets less than one-fourth of what he paid for them.

G. Dear Sirs:

I am writing to complain about the fact that I keep receiving recipe cards after I have canceled my membership.

H. In the new season of "Happy Days" Richie and The Fonz are going to have cars, girls, and music.

I. One of the best women artists in the country is going to be on campus next semester.

J. Surprisingly enough, that blonde who looks as if she's never seen the inside of a library is here on a full scholarship.

5. The black culture has added colorful and useful words to English. Many of the terms have come to the attention of the larger group of English-speakers through the entertainment world. Some of the words stay as slang and do not get into dictionaries, but they are nevertheless adopted into the general language. One of the reasons that Blacks use creative and distinctive speech is that they want to remain apart, to be different from the masses. This means that when one of their usages is adopted by the general public, they go on to something more creative so that they can still be distinctive. According to Dr. Ken Johnson, a sociolinguist from the University of Southern California, the following terms are used in the black culture to designate females.

Fox: a beautiful girl
Boogabear: an ugly female
Rib: any female (metaphoric reference to Adam and Eve)
Sapphire: an aggressive female. (This was the name of Kingfish's wife on the "Amos and Andy" show.)
Main Squeeze: a male's girl-friend

In your geographical area, which ones of these terms are used by both (or either) Blacks and Whites? Dr. Johnson did not mention terms for males. Does this mean that girls do not talk about boys in the same creative way, or could it be that since Dr. Johnson is a male, he has mainly heard the conversations in which men were talking about women and so these are the terms he knows? See if you can make an equivalent list of words used by females to talk about males. Which of the terms do you think will come into the general language and therefore have the longest lives?

A

Boys will be boys

The fraternity council and the dean of students office launched an investigation into the missing victory bell. It disappeared after Saturday's parade and pep rally.

B

A student must have his fee status determined prior to registration and payment of tuition. It is entirely the student's responsibility to establish his right to in-state tuition. Prompt filing of the required domiciliary information will make it possible for the University to determine classification prior to registration.

C

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY IS CELEBRATED BY LINDSAYS

Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Lindsay, 1894 E. Olivia Hills, marked their golden wedding anniversary last Wednesday.

The Lindsays were married on March 21, 1929, in Sacramento, California and moved to this state in 1963.

They have three children: Gregory, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Julia, Denver, Colorado; and Daniel, Phoenix. They also have nine grandchildren and two great grandchildren.

Lindsay retired from employment as a bowling alley mechanic.

D

Big Night For Brothers

It was a big night for the Steven Stapley family all the way around when Boy Scout Troop 578 held Court of Honor recently. Earning Eagle Scout awards, all on the same night, were brothers (front l to r) Christopher, Keith and Kregg Stapley. And to cap the evening off another Stapley, Kent (back), received Arrow of Light, highest honor in Cub Scouting. Jan Young photo

FOR STEVEN STAPLEY FAMILY

Scouting Family Affair

E

White man miffed as Indian profits from legal status

F

Grandmother already has 5 degrees under her belt

G

Dear Prof. Smith:

If you participate in this program and help only one student to broaden his horizons, your efforts will have been repaid. Thanking you in advance, we remain,

H

Bank to get new chairman

Janet Pelle Simpson, 43, former city councilman, has been named the chairman of the First City Bank. She has been with the bank since 1968 when she graduated from the University of Georgia with a degree in business administration.

I

Bachelor Living

The fact that women are no longer rushing from high school to the altar is bringing a change in housing patterns. Twenty-four percent of the city's apartments are now rented to single women. Interviews with this year's graduating senior class showed that more than half of the young women are looking forward to setting up bachelor apartments within the next two years.

J

Flight Attendants Slow Work

Flight attendants on Trans World Airlines overseas flights began a slowdown Monday morning in anticipation of the upcoming Thanksgiving holiday. The slowdown was a warning that a strike may occur this weekend which would hit the airlines at the peak of holiday travel, a speaker for the group announced.

K

Census forms omit male term

Washington: In an apparent gesture to the women's movement, the U.S. Census Bureau ended its long practice of designating the man as the head of the household.

Starting with the 1980 census, the term "head of household" was dropped from the census form. Instead, the person filling out the form is asked to list all family members "starting with the person (or one of the persons) in whose name the home is owned or rented." A census official explained that this gives a more realistic picture of who's boss.

M

It Takes two to be Founding Parents

In a recent ruling, Oregon's State Textbook Commission voted to take the sexism out of the "Founding Fathers."

The Commission has recommended that social studies textbooks acknowledge the contribution of women in settling the United States. Books referring only to "Founding Fathers" will no longer be acceptable because the phrase is sexist. The group also deplored the use of such terms as "Red China" and "the Dark Continent." A speaker for the group explained that children learn attitudes as well as facts from their school books.

L

ABOUT FRIDAY THE 13th

It's Friday the 13th, and if you admit to a touch of superstitious uneasiness, you're one of many. If you know why, you're one of a few.

Friday the 13th's reputation as the ultimate bad luck day stems from a mishmash of superstitions about Friday and the number 13, according to Dr. John Ellis, associate professor of English at Arizona State University.

Friday, it seems, was named for Freya, the Norse goddess of love, which was all well and good until the Norse tribes became Christian. Freya was proclaimed a witch, and her day became suspect as the witches' sabbath.

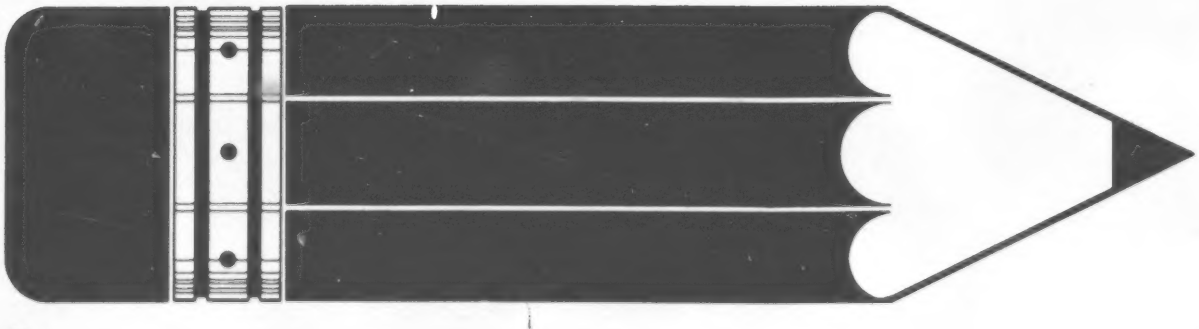
N

Rain & Wind Brought by Tropical Storm "Norman"

COMPOSITION

Write an essay based on one of the following ideas:

1. The December, 1979 issue of *Life* Magazine contained a four-page list of "Seventies Speak." It was made up of new words and phrases of the last decade. Go to a library and find this list or a comparable one and analyze the semantic areas from which these words have come. Write a report telling what these words show about American culture in the 1970s.
2. Make a study of word usage in your own school in relation to females and males. You might interview newspaper and yearbook editors and reporters, English and journalism teachers, secretaries, principals, deans, counselors, members of curriculum committees, or anyone else who might be writing something to distribute to the general public under the name of your school. Find out if they have made any changes in their public language in relation to males and females within the last five years. For example: Do they address their letters differently? Do they use *Ms.*? Do they avoid using *man* when they are referring to both females and males? Do they use an alternative to masculine pronouns in such documents as school regulations and catalogues? Have changes been made in such course titles as "Bachelor Survival Class" and such extracurricular activities as "Girls' League," "Boys' League," "Letterman's Club," and "Spurs Women's Honorary"? Write up your findings including the reasons that changes have or have not been made.
3. Predict the future of American English in relation to the kinds of language changes that have been discussed in this study unit. Which changes do you think will last and which will be forgotten? Which ones do you think are the most important? Which ones are the least important? Give reasons for the statements you make.
4. Using one of the "Comments from Other Students" as a basis, write an essay in which you either extend the idea that the student was getting at or present an opposing view.



GLOSSARY OF TERMS

amelioration: When a word takes on positive connotations, it goes through the process of amelioration, as when *tough* or *tuff* is used as a compliment in modern slang.

analogy: It is through analogy that the spelling and pronunciations of words are changed so that they will fit into well known patterns. For example, the plural of *cow* used to be *kine* but through analogy with other plural forms it has been changed to *cows*.

cognate: When words are cognates, they are related. Somewhere in their histories they came from the same word in a parent language. They may now be in two different languages, such as ***avarice*** in English and ***avaricio*** in Spanish, or they may be different forms of a word in the same language, such as ***wise*** and ***wizard*** in English.

connotation: The connotations of a word are the emotional overtones which it has. For example, someone might be referred to as a *a square, an egghead,* or *a bright young man.* Each phrase could denote or point to the same person, but obviously the impact on the listener varies because the phrases have different connotations.

eponym: An eponym is a word that has been taken into a language from someone's name. Often speakers no longer realize that there is a real person behind the name. For example, the verb *to lynch* is thought to have come from the name of Charles Lynch, an extra-zealous justice of the peace in Virginia during the 1700s.

ethnocentricity: Ethnocentricity is an emotional identification with one's group or nation. Americans have the reputation of being ethnocentric in their speech attitudes because they think English is the best language. When they travel worldwide, they expect everyone else to know English.

euphemism: The word *euphemism* is cognate with *euphonious*, meaning "pleasant sounding." People euphemise or use euphemisms to soften harsh concepts or words that might make listeners feel uncomfortable. For example, instead of saying, "The dead President Kennedy," speakers euphemize and say, "The late President Kennedy."

folk etymology: In folk etymology, the common people (as differentiated from scholars) mistakenly figure out the origin of a word and change its pronunciation to better fit the word to which they think it relates. For example, children sometimes think that *butterfly* comes from *flutter by* and so this is what they say.

generalization: Generalization occurs when a word expands its meaning to include a larger number of referents than it originally had. For example, *shipments* used to be something that went on ships, but today shipments are sent on trucks, buses, airplanes, trains, and ships.

generic: *Generic* is cognate with *general*. It has the meaning of "inclusive," as opposed to "specific." In commercial language, the brand name *Kleenex* has been unofficially adopted by consumers as a generic term for paper handkerchiefs. Generic nouns and pronouns are words which include both males and females as referents, but there is disagreement as to whether the italicized words in the following sentences are truly generic:

Man has been on the earth for less than a million years.
Everyone should take *his* own food.

indefinite pronoun: An indefinite pronoun does not refer to a specific person or thing already identified in a sentence. The indefinite pronouns that are relevant to the lessons in this book include combinations of ***no***, ***some***, ***any***, and ***every*** with ***one*** and ***body*** as in ***nobody*** and ***everyone***.

linguistic principle: A linguistic principle is an idea or observation about the way language works which has been tested and found to hold true in a variety of languages by a number of linguists.

linguistics: Linguistics is the study of language from the viewpoint of a scientific observer. Most linguists will divide linguistics into four areas: 1. the study of sounds known as phonology; 2. the study of words and their parts known as morphemes; 3. the study of grammar known as syntax; and 4. the study of meanings known as semantics. But it is really impossible to study language in such discrete ways. This book is an example of how interrelated and complex are the various aspects of language.

metaphor: Metaphors are comparisons or analogies in which one item is said to be something that it is not except in a figurative sense. For example, *a dove-tail joint* is a metaphor comparing the shape of two pieces of wood to the shape of a dove's tail.

pejoration: It is through pejoration that neutral or even positive words take on negative meanings. For example, *mistress* used to be a title of respect for a woman but it has now acquired sexual connotations, as in "She's his mistress," which is not usually said with respect.

presupposition: Most sentences communicate two kinds of information: old and new. That is, they bring up a subject with which the reader is already familiar and then they say something new about it. Presuppositions usually appear as part of the old information which the speaker feels no obligation to prove. Presuppositions are underlying assumptions which both the speaker and the listener take for granted.

referent: The referent of a word is the actual item, person, place, or concept being talked about when a particular word is used. Words are abstract concepts represented with sound waves in the air or marks on surfaces, but the referents of words are actual things. Many different words could have the same referent.

semantic feature: Every word has many semantic features, which are all of the things that go into making up its total meaning. For example, when you talk about a dog, you know you are talking about something that is concrete rather than abstract. It is living rather than nonliving, and it is an animal rather than a human. If it is a particular dog—Lassie, for example—that is being talked about, then there are more semantic features included, such as size, color, breed, sex, age, proper name, and disposition.

sociolinguistics: In sociolinguistics the language people use is studied as evidence of what their values are and how their speech and thoughts have been influenced by their social backgrounds.

source: When metaphors and similes are created, the source is the word or concept on which the comparison is based. With the *dove-tail joint* metaphor, it is the fanned-out shape of a dove's tail which is the source, while the referent is the kind of wood joint being talked about.

specialization: Through specialization, a rather general term develops as one of its main meanings what was formerly only a small part of its meaning. For example, *glasses* meaning "eyeglasses" or "spectacles" is a specialized meaning of the more general term *glass*.

speech community: Speech communities are made up of groups of speakers who share distinctive characteristics of speech or even of writing, for example, the specialized writing about rock music or chemical engineering. At the most narrow level, a speech community might be as small as two identical twins or other close siblings who have developed their own private language, or at a much broader level, all speakers of American English could be considered a speech community.

stereotyping: This is a word from the printing industry, where it had the meaning of something being reproduced over and over. *Sex-role stereotyping*, *racial stereotyping*, or *age stereotyping* refers to the repeated presentation of a particular image being especially appropriate for all, or nearly all, members of one sex, one racial group, one age group, respectively.

symbol: A symbol is usually more abstract or all-encompassing than a metaphor or a simile. In a metaphor or a simile, the source and the referent may have only one thing in common such as the shape, or color, or size, etc. But with a symbol the relationship is more complex and several semantic features may be involved; for example, flowers may symbolize springtime, love, happiness, etc. as well as the more specific wishes which someone might think to send along with a gift bouquet.

synecdoche: This is the process through which the name for a part of something becomes used as the name for the entire referent. For example, *ten head of cattle* refers to the bodies as well as the heads of the cattle.

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SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Alleen Pace Nilsen first became interested in the area of sexism in language and literature when she lived in Afghanistan from 1967 to 1969. Her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Iowa dealt with the topic of grammatical gender. She has written several articles on the subject of sexism and language and she was editor and co-author of *Sexism and Language* published in 1977. With her husband, Don L.F. Nilsen, she has co-authored *Language Play: An Introduction to Linguistics, Semantic Theory: A Linguistic Perspective,* and *Pronunciation Contrasts in English.* She is an Associate Professor of Education in the Department of Educational Technology and Library Science at Arizona State University. She is active in the National Council of Teachers of English. She has been president of the Adolescent Literature Assembly and a member of the Women's Committee. Currently, Dr. Nilsen is co-editor of *The English Journal.*